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FALL 1990

CALIFORNIA HISTORY



Milestones in California History—Admission Day Celebrations in 1890



CHS Library, San Francisco.

San Francisco's celebration of the fortieth anniversary of statehood, depicted in this photograph taken on September 9, 1890, lasted five days and culminated in the largest parade ever held in the young city. San Francisco was chosen to host the state's Admission Day activities that year. Nearly all the city's 300,000 residents turned out to watch and celebrate as an estimated 20,000 participants marched in bands or rode by in carriages and gaily decorated floats. The festivities were organized and sponsored by the Native Sons of the Golden West, founded in 1875, and the Native Daughters of the Golden West, founded in 1886. Local chapters throughout the state sent delegates; San Francisco's newspapers

estimated there were fifty to one hundred thousand visitors in the city. The theme of the 1890 celebration was to pay special tribute to the aging pioneers, whose courage, industry, and enterprise laid the foundations for the state's first forty remarkable years. One hundred years later, that same pioneering zeal and spirit that distinguished the 49ers still exists—in natives and immigrants alike. These ingredients will be necessary to maintain the state's economic and social leadership and to propel California into the twenty-first century.

Keith Kennedy, Editorial Assistant,
California History

On the Cover: "Jamestown, or D.O. Mills' Mill" (ca. 1855), a painting attributed to Alburtus del Orient Browere (1814-1887). Primarily a painter of landscapes, Browere came from New York to California in 1852 to record on canvas life in the mining districts. From the CHS Collection, San Francisco; photographed by Cecile Keefe.

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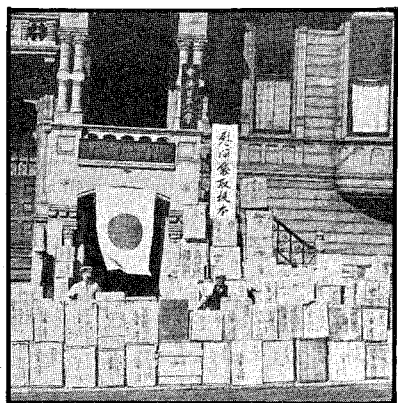
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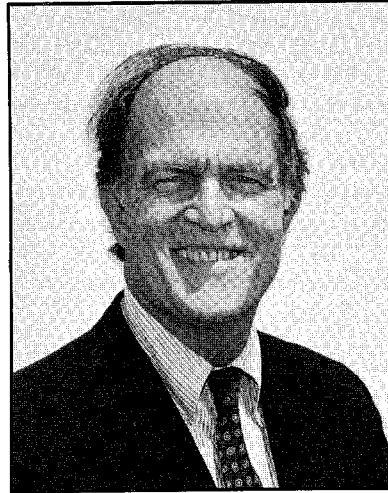
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Greetings from the Executive Director



Michael McCone, Executive Director,
California Historical Society.
CHS Library, San Francisco.

It is a privilege to be a part of the California Historical Society. When I assumed my duties as Executive Director on July 23, 1990, I found an eager staff, Trustees committed to returning the Society to robust health, and a steadfast membership. This short message of introduction is to you, the membership, and to our ever-increasing number of readers who we hope will become members.

The purpose of the California Historical Society is to nurture and promote the history of the state of California; to collect, preserve, interpret, publish, and exhibit all aspects of the rich diversity of California's cultures and traditions.

The job is formidable, to be sure, but we have begun in earnest to achieve our priority goals of establishing a sound financial base and addressing our program and space needs in order to make a greater impact on the many communities we serve.

These priorities are interdependent: increasing revenue through contributions and member recruitment, reopening the Library, circulating the collections that they may be seen, maintaining the Quarterly, and making our presence more widely felt, understood, and respected in all areas of the state.

I am a prisoner of hope and confidence—join me and let's work together.

MICHAEL MCCONE
Executive Director
California Historical Society

Editor's Note: The above is a message to members and readers from Michael McCone, the new Executive Director of the California Historical Society. A graduate of Yale University, Mr. McCone brings to the Society a wealth of administrative experience in cultural institutions. He has served as Deputy Director of the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, Director of Development of Grace Cathedral in San Francisco, and most recently as Vice President for University Relations, John F. Kennedy University.



Daniel M. Berry, ca. 1874, cofounder of the Indiana Colony and the community of Pasadena. *Courtesy Pasadena Historical Society.*

TAKING THE COUNTRY BAREFOOTED: The Indiana Colony in Southern California

by James H. Madison

The Midwest winter was even colder than usual in 1872-1873, when temperatures often dropped well below zero.* In early 1873 several shivering Hoosiers gathered in Indianapolis to "form a society for removal to some more equable climate." Calling themselves the Indiana Colony, they considered Texas, Florida, and Louisiana but finally settled on southern California as "the spot unifying the blessings of the tropics without their heat, malaria or enervating influences."¹ When some would-be emigrants showed signs of wavering, one of their number, Helen Elliott, firmly responded, "Let others stay here and freeze if they wish; I'm going to California."²

Going to southern California was a considerable undertaking in 1873. It was not the journey itself, for the transcontinental railroad lessened considerably the rigors of the move west. Other, more complex challenges faced would-be settlers. First was the challenge of settling in a strange, largely unknown land. None of the Indiana Colony knew much about southern California; none realized how different from the Midwest this distant land was. Only slowly did they come to realize that, in

addition to its attractions, it had defects—particularly insufficient water. A second difficulty facing the Indiana Colony was that of raising capital necessary to obtain and develop land. Few, if any, of these Hoosier emigrants were wealthy. Finally, they faced the challenge of leaving behind a settled community with comfortable schools, churches, and amenities in exchange for an area that seemed to them primitive and uncivilized. It was in response to these challenges that the Indiana Colony formed and attempted by collective, rather than individual, means to settle in southern California.

The Indiana Colony did not look west into total darkness. As their guide they took Charles Nordhoff's *California: For Health, Pleasure, and Residence, A Book for Travellers and Settlers*, published in 1872. Though Nordhoff's praise was occasionally restrained, he was one of the most influential of nineteenth-century California boosters. His special appeal to members of the Indiana Colony doubtless derived from the way in which he seemed to be addressing just their situation. Only a generation removed from the Indiana frontier, these Hoosiers understood what Nordhoff meant when he wrote that in southern California "you have not to girdle trees, pull stumps, or toil among underbrush." Consequently, "men do here more easily what they used to do in Illinois and Indiana—buy a farm, and with their first crop clear all their expenses and the price of the land." Nordhoff's Indiana readers learned about the high fertility of the California soil, the moderate and healthful climate, and the

*Most of the work on this article was accomplished while the author was a John Randolph and Dora Haynes Foundation Fellow of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. He wishes to acknowledge also the support of a Summer Faculty Fellowship from Indiana University. Many people assisted in the preparation of this article. Special thanks are due to Jane Apostle, Mary Borgerding, Susan Coffman, Walter Nugent, Martin Ridge, Andrew Rolle, and Beverly Wayte.

natural beauty of the land and its vegetation. He warned them, however, that California was different, citing the ignorant settlers who "attempted to plant and sow in May or June, when the rains were over, and, of course, they got no more return than if they had planted corn in Illinois in August." And he warned that water was needed for irrigation, repeating the experienced California farmer's advice to "be more careful to buy water than land." An often-made blunder of newcomers from the East was that "they try to own too much land."³

In addition to charting a general strategy for California pioneers, Nordhoff also suggested a specific method of emigration and settlement. He advised that between twenty and fifty families form a society and "select the most trustworthy and experienced one of your member—one in whom you can all confide—to go to California to seek out a place for you." After he identified and purchased the tract, this pioneer scout would oversee division of the land into family-sized plots and would supervise planting of crops and making other arrangements to prepare for the arrival of colony members.⁴ The kind of colony settlement Nordhoff advised was a sensible means of pioneering quickly and efficiently in southern California, variations of which had already been used in settling Anaheim, Riverside, and elsewhere.⁵

The organizers of the Indiana Colony followed Nordhoff's book like neophyte cooks with their first recipes. They drew up a circular and had 2,000 copies printed and distributed. The circular proposed that fifty families would form the enterprise and that an advance party would "go ahead of the main body, to make arrangements for irrigating and cultivating the lands, to plant fences, start a nursery of tropical fruit and other trees." Following lines set by Nordhoff, the Indiana Colony's circular stipulated that the advance party would plant on each member's tract of land five acres of grape cuttings and one acre of orange trees. A common area would be set aside for planting wheat, with twenty acres of wheat for each colony member. A monthly assessment of ten dollars per member would fund the work of the advance party. Only in the size of the individual landholdings did the Indiana Colony ignore Nordhoff. He advised that colonies purchase eighty acres for each member, but the Indiana Colony decided that 160 was more

appropriate.⁶ These midwesterners were "confident that land would be bought on the coast like the prairies of Illinois and Iowa equal in value, smoothness and fertility."⁷

Two men formed the core of the Indiana Colony—Thomas B. Elliott and Daniel M. Berry. Elliott was born in New York in 1825. After graduation from Philadelphia's Jefferson Medical College in 1850, he moved to Indianapolis to practice medicine. He became involved in a variety of public activities in the Hoosier capital, serving for a time as president of the local school board and on a committee to establish a free public library. Elliott also attached himself to the commercial fortunes of the growing midwestern city. As secretary of the board of trade he prepared and had published in 1857 a detailed pamphlet boosting the city's commercial and industrial opportunities. Later he served as president of the chamber of commerce. While promoting the city, Elliott invested heavily in local real estate and entered the flour and grain trade as a commission merchant. This latter pursuit proved unprofitable, though the local credit reporter for R.G. Dun and Company characterized Elliott as a good businessman of good character. In 1870 he took as a partner in his commission business Daniel Berry. A widower, Berry had been a schoolteacher and newspaper man before joining Elliott's commission business. The new firm struggled through the early 1870s, although Dun's credit reporter indicated that both men "are excellent Bus. men and thoroughly reliable." By 1873, however, the credit report on Elliott & Berry noted that "The firm are not in the best of credit here." When Elliott's wife Helen, whom he had married in 1853, claimed that she would not spend another winter in Indianapolis, the two men were ready to respond.⁸

With a wide variety of skills and experiences, but without much capital, Thomas Elliott and Daniel Berry set out to form the Indiana Colony. Joining them on the colony executive committee were men they knew from the local community—Calvin Fletcher, Jr., John H. Baker, J.M. Matthews, and J.H. Ruddell. These men were the first to subscribe for land. It is unlikely that any were wealthy. All but John Baker, who took only 80 acres, signed up for 160 acres, the maximum permitted. At least 25



Thomas B. Elliott
as a young man,
ca. 1853, president
of the Indiana
Colony. Courtesy
Pasadena Historical
Society.

others joined the colony. Of the 31 members, 17 subscribed for 160 acres, 10 for 80 acres, and 4, including Daniel M. Berry's son Fred, for 40 acres, the minimum subscription allowed. Twenty of the 31 members were residents of Indianapolis. Seven came from other Indiana communities. Each member received a printed certificate indicating the number of acres of land he had subscribed. All agreed to follow the rules of the association, which included paying a monthly assessment of \$10 and agreeing that "no spirituous distilled liquors shall be allowed on the lands of the Colony for trafic [sic]."⁹

In early August 1873, the colony sent out its advance party, led by Daniel Berry. Crossing the plains and Rockies on the newly finished transcontinental railroad, Berry reached San Francisco about August 21. He wrote at once to Elliott, colony president in Indianapolis, beginning a fact-filled and vigorous correspondence that would soon number over 130 letters back to the Elliots.¹⁰

From San Francisco Berry sailed to San Diego and then Los Angeles. With a population of about 5,728 in 1870, Los Angeles was still a small, isolated town when Berry arrived, far less developed commercially than the Indianapolis he had left. The local newspaper listed the names of guests who checked in at the town's three hotels, the most luxurious of which, the Pico House, sought clientele by advertising that "The unpleasant odor of gas

has entirely disappeared since the building of the new sewer."¹¹ Using the Pico House as his base, Berry began to travel to the surrounding countryside, looking at dozens of sites in search of suitable land for the Indiana Colony. It was a hard task. Returning from a journey to the San Bernardino area, he reported, "My back is broken with 120 miles of villanous [sic] stage riding but I still live."¹²

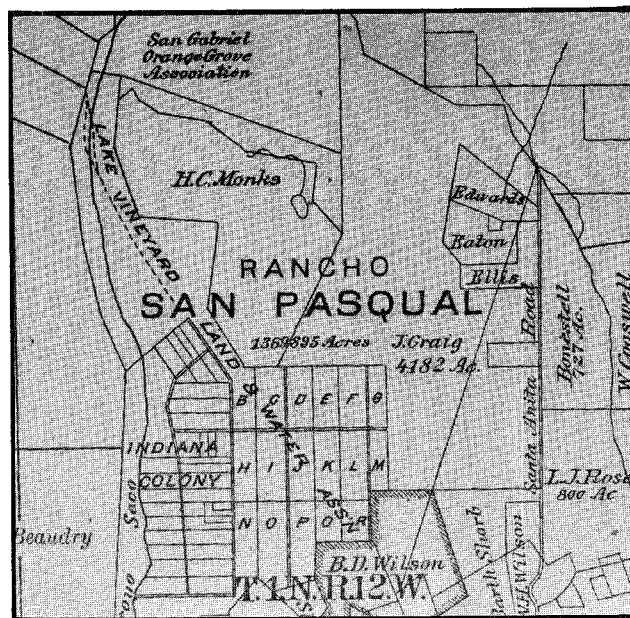
In the second week of September Berry met Benjamin S. Eaton, who had been trying to sell for his brother-in-law, John Griffin, part of the Rancho San Pasqual, located a dozen miles northeast of Los Angeles. Eaton later recalled his first impression of Berry—"a slender, pale, weak-looking, round-shouldered man, with a stove-pipe hat, and other characteristic features that proclaimed him a 'tender-foot.'"¹³ On September 12, the day after he visited Rancho San Pasqual with Eaton, Berry wrote Elliott to spell out in rapturous detail the wonders of the newfound land: "It is right in line with all the best orange orchards and vineyards here and just as good, *with more water*. Grapes and grain need no irrigation." The railroad would soon be built and provide good transportation. And, Berry wrote, "the climate and scenery are heavenly." Unlike Los Angeles, where "the fog gathers thick and pestiferous and the air is heavy with slow but sure coming death," at San Pasqual the Indiana Colony would live in "the unvaporous air on the elevated land up nearer to God and the Mountains."

Berry, who suffered with asthma, reported his first night of uninterrupted sleep in years, thereby taking his place in a long line of health-seekers in southern California.¹⁴

The site that so captivated Berry was indeed impressive. To the north were the San Gabriel Mountains, rising nearly 6,000 feet. On the western edge was the Arroyo Seco, a wooded canyon where water from springs was "leaping out of the rocks on the side in little cascades." To the east were the grazing lands and orchards of some of southern California's largest ranches. Berry wanted desperately to buy all of the 2,800 acres Eaton offered him at \$10 an acre and which Berry believed could be sold at \$100 an acre.¹⁵

Following his report of September 12, Berry wrote letter after letter to his associates back in Indiana, attempting to convince them that he had found the promised land. He repeated often his conviction that "the great through railroad will go right across our tract," a vision that surely warmed the hearts of those who remembered Indiana's railroad boom two decades earlier.¹⁶ He celebrated the warm, healthful climate, often making invidious comparisons with Indiana's extremes of hot and cold. As winter approached he wrote "You must be enjoying the snow and slush and wind and mud. I have not seen an hour of stormy or windy weather in Cal. yet."¹⁷ He reassured the Indiana Colony that he had made necessary arrangements for obtaining "an abundance of water," reminding them, as Nordhoff had, that "water here means gold."¹⁸ And he celebrated the productivity of the land, especially for fruit: "The same time and labor devoted to fruit here that we give at home to business would make us happy and rich in a short time."¹⁹ Berry did not promise an easy life, for "the aristocracy here work and raise fruit. People who come here expecting to have a social status and a good living from their antecedents in the East will find they are d--- fools and have to conquer their way by work."²⁰

Berry's letters showed considerable solicitation for the understandable ignorance of his Indiana readers about southern California and the un-forested land and arid climate that awaited them. Again and again he explained features of soil, terrain, climate, and crops, sometimes including in his letters geography lessons accompanied by



Map of Rancho San Pasqual area, ca. 1877. Tracts ultimately selected and subdivided by the Indiana Colony appear at the lower left, bordering the Arroyo Seco. Courtesy Pasadena Historical Society.

hand-drawn maps. When he rhapsodized about the beauty of a live oak tree—a “jolly round headed short bodied tree”—he reminded Elliott that a picture of this tree, unknown in Indiana, was in Nordhoff’s book.²¹ From these letters, Elliott later recalled, “we began to understand what mountains, arroyos, Canadas[,] Canyons, zanja and mesa lands meant” and to realize how unlike the familiar Midwest California was.²² Ignorance continued, however. When Elliott placed an advertisement for the Indiana Colony in the *Indianapolis Journal*, he incorrectly described the land in terms of feet rather than acres and spelled “Angeles,” with “o’s” rather than “e’s.”²³ On occasion Berry lost patience with Elliott’s failure to understand the strange, new land. Writing about the possibility of selling the wood on the San Pasqual property, Berry fumed, “You don’t understand the wood question here, so we will not discuss it when 2500 miles apart.”²⁴

Mixed with Berry’s repeated enthusiasm for southern California were his pleadings to buy the San Pasqual land as quickly as possible. Berry was fearful that another purchaser might push aside the Indiana Colony. To keep their intentions secret he and Elliott used a code for telegrams, referring, for example, to the San Pasqual lands as “Muscat,” after the variety of raisin grape they intended to grow.²⁵ Elliott’s delay in authorizing the purchase caused growing frustration for the California scout. At one point Elliott objected to the price, after which Berry advised him that cheap land had been available three years earlier, “but Nordorff’s [sic] book put up prices fearfully.”²⁶ Others in the colony doubtless had similar concerns, exacerbated by a lack of ready cash. Nor had Elliott kept them all fully informed. One member sent his monthly \$10 assessment in early October but wondered why there was not “further news from the ‘pioneer party’?”²⁷ Another expressed strong regret that he received “no notice of *anything* in regard to the colony, which strikes me as rather a fresh way of proceeding.”²⁸ In response Elliott issued a circular announcing the location of the San Pasqual lands, though to Berry’s annoyance the colony president incorrectly placed the tract east rather than north of Los Angeles.²⁹

Berry’s impatience with Elliott and the slow working of the colony soon caused him to urge

action without further consultation or delay. “Let the colony go to ---- if they have no sense,” he wrote. A few men should take the initiative and “not wait for the colony to doubt and fuss around about it.”³⁰ Berry was heartened when E.C. Mayhew arrived in Los Angeles and Berry convinced him to visit San Pasqual, for Mayhew was an Indianapolis resident well known to other colony members. Mayhew was pleased with Berry’s choice and promised on his return to Indianapolis to spread the word to key men in the colony. “He is smart and understands California pretty well,” Berry assured Elliott.³¹ Still, no purchase money arrived from Indiana, nor did the colony treasurer reimburse Berry for his expenses, which by mid-October totaled \$475.³² As he continued to explain the wonders of the new land, Berry’s gloom and frustration deepened: “the colony didn’t understand the situation—about 10 or 12 men should have taken it and had it settled and the orange trees planted before this time.” “Why don’t you send the money?” he asked on October 19.³³

That same day Berry received a draft for \$200. It did not cheer him, for the sum was too small by more than half. “People here will think I represent a d--- small set of capitalists who can’t raise over \$200 on a trade of \$20,000,” he lamented.³⁴ Worse was yet to come.

One of the deepest panics in American history hit New York City in September 1873. Berry immediately feared that it “will stop movements in real estate in Indianapolis” at a time when the colonists, especially Elliott, were preparing to sell their various holdings in order to raise capital to purchase California land.³⁵ Not until the last week in October did the black financial tide reach Indiana, prompting telegrams and letters of instruction from Elliott to Berry to “buy nothing, promise nothing.”³⁶ By this time colonist Thomas F. Croft had arrived in California, visiting San Pasqual with Berry for the first time on October 23. Croft was thoroughly delighted with the property, but two days later he joined Berry in a gloomy late-night discussion of the bad news just received from Indianapolis. Before going to bed Croft sadly noted in his pocket diary that “the Colony have about broken up.”³⁷ Croft was right. This version of the Indiana Colony was

dying. Berry was furious. "All might have been done before the panic if prompt action had been taken," he wrote Elliott. "You could have raised the money in a day then."³⁸

Berry was not one to sit and stew, nor to give up on San Pasqual. Neither was Elliott. Joined by others in Indiana and California, they resumed the effort to purchase the land. In November they formed the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association and filed for incorporation in California. Their intention was to sell shares to raise \$25,000 for purchase of the land. They chose their name, Berry explained, because "the San Gabriel Fruit has a reputation and a commercial value above any other. . . ."³⁹ Despite the new association and new name, however, the group commonly referred to itself as the Indiana Colony. Of the twenty-seven eventual shareholders in the new association, ten had been members of the original Indiana Colony.⁴⁰

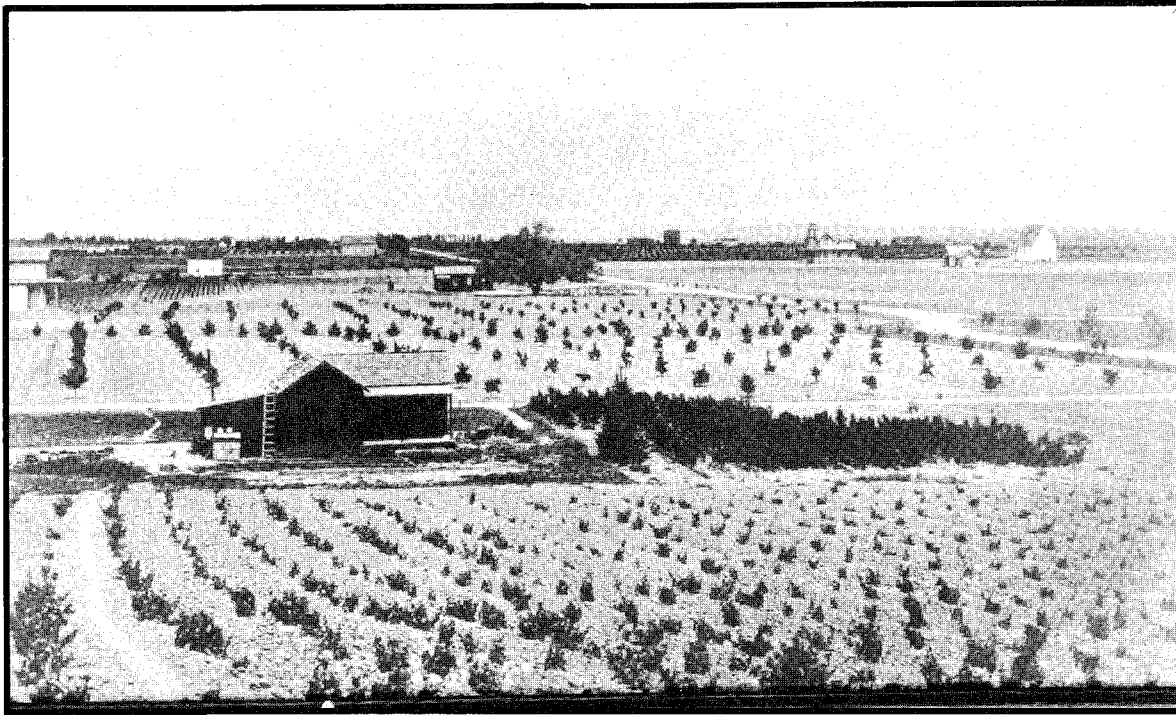
With the formation of the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, Berry resumed his eager boosting of southern California. Thomas Elliott soon agreed to invest \$3,000 in the Association, but Berry continued to urge him to sell his seven lots in Indianapolis, because "one acre of Muscat under cultivation is worth more than the seven lots."⁴¹ To Helen Elliott, Berry wrote that "you can buy more property here for \$1,000 than in Indianapolis for \$10,000—, and then have a climate that you can depend on. . . where snow and fever and rheumatism are never allowed to enter."⁴² Often mixing whimsy and satire in his correspondence, Berry wrote on one occasion that "if any man can be happy in the climate and society of the Hoosier capital keep him there. This place is too good for him. Too good!!"⁴³ By December Berry had written over 200 letters to Elliott and others back in Indiana, sometimes writing a dozen a day. No other member of the Indiana Colony, Berry believed, had written more than one or two in its service.⁴⁴ His efforts brought results in the form of new subscribers, as, for example, A.O. Porter, from Shelbyville, Indiana, and his brother-in-law, P.M. Green, a druggist from Indianapolis, who agreed to take twelve shares in mid-December.⁴⁵

At the end of November Berry faced a new problem. Although J.M. Matthews's enthusiasm for Rancho San Pasqual had carried him from the original Indiana Colony to the San Gabriel Orange

Grove Association, the Indianapolis newspaper man objected to the new arrangements, threatening to bring the whole enterprise to ruin. Matthews disapproved of the decision to incorporate in California, and he insisted that he wanted individual title to his land before he would make his payment. This, Berry pointed out, was impossible since any seller of a large tract wanted to be sure that the entire tract was sold and would not "deed any pieces here and there. . . ."⁴⁶ The land had to be deeded first to the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association and then transferred from the corporation to individual members. In addition, only by incorporation could members be compelled to pay their share of the costs of water development, Berry explained. Matthews also objected to the choice of directors, wanting more men from Indiana, as in the initial Indiana Colony arrangement. Berry responded that California law required that three of the directors be citizens of the state, and, moreover, it was necessary for the directors to meet face-to-face in California in order to make decisions on division of the land and on water rights. As soon as Matthews came to California, Berry wrote, he could become a director himself. Finally, Matthews objected to changing the name of the association, to which Berry retorted that the new name reflected the reality of many actual and potential members not from Indiana and also took advantage of the special appeal it would have when the settlers marketed their fruit. "The name Indiana," he concluded, "sounds too much like colds, coughs, chills &c to suit us here."⁴⁷

Matthews continued to raise his objections into mid-December, by which time Berry was furious. But back in Indianapolis, Elliott and Calvin Fletcher, Jr., an Indianapolis resident who was a director of the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, worked to reassure and soothe both Matthews and Berry, a task they eventually accomplished.⁴⁸

While Matthews stirred up trouble, Berry continued negotiations with Griffin, assisted by Thomas Croft, who soon played a critical role in the enterprise. Indeed, in early December Croft concluded that "I must buy it myself or fail. Berry & Elliott will never close deal ever."⁴⁹ Croft did exactly that. Assured that "many of the old colony people will stand by me," he took responsibility for the purchase, paying the \$25,000 with \$6,250 in



Pasadena, 1876, just after its founding by the Indiana Colony. The beginnings of a vineyard (foreground) and an orange grove (center) are evident. The lane that would become Orange Grove Avenue is on a diagonal from the right edge of the photograph northward toward the San Gabriel Mountains. *Courtesy Pasadena Historical Society.*

cash and \$18,750 in promissory notes.⁵⁰ On December 26, Griffin deeded the 3,933 acres to Croft, and three days later Croft deeded it to the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association. All were delighted. Croft and Berry had spent Christmas day, a "beautiful day," on the land, and "had a great time climbing hills and rocks."⁵¹ San Pasqual was now theirs to settle and develop.

At this critical point Calvin Fletcher, Jr., arrived. Just as Croft had provided essential service in the final stage of land acquisition, so too now did Fletcher by carrying forward the critical process of surveying and laying out the 1,500 acres selected for initial settlement. Berry and Croft had eagerly anticipated Fletcher's arrival in California, which he had several times postponed, an anticipation justified by his contribution to the colony's success. Fletcher by this time was assuming a large role in the enterprise. His father, Calvin Fletcher, Sr., had been the wealthiest and perhaps most prominent citizen of Indianapolis. The large family was widely respected. Calvin

Fletcher, Jr., had attended Brown University but returned to Indianapolis to manage his father's farms and develop his own various business interests, including a tree nursery.⁵²

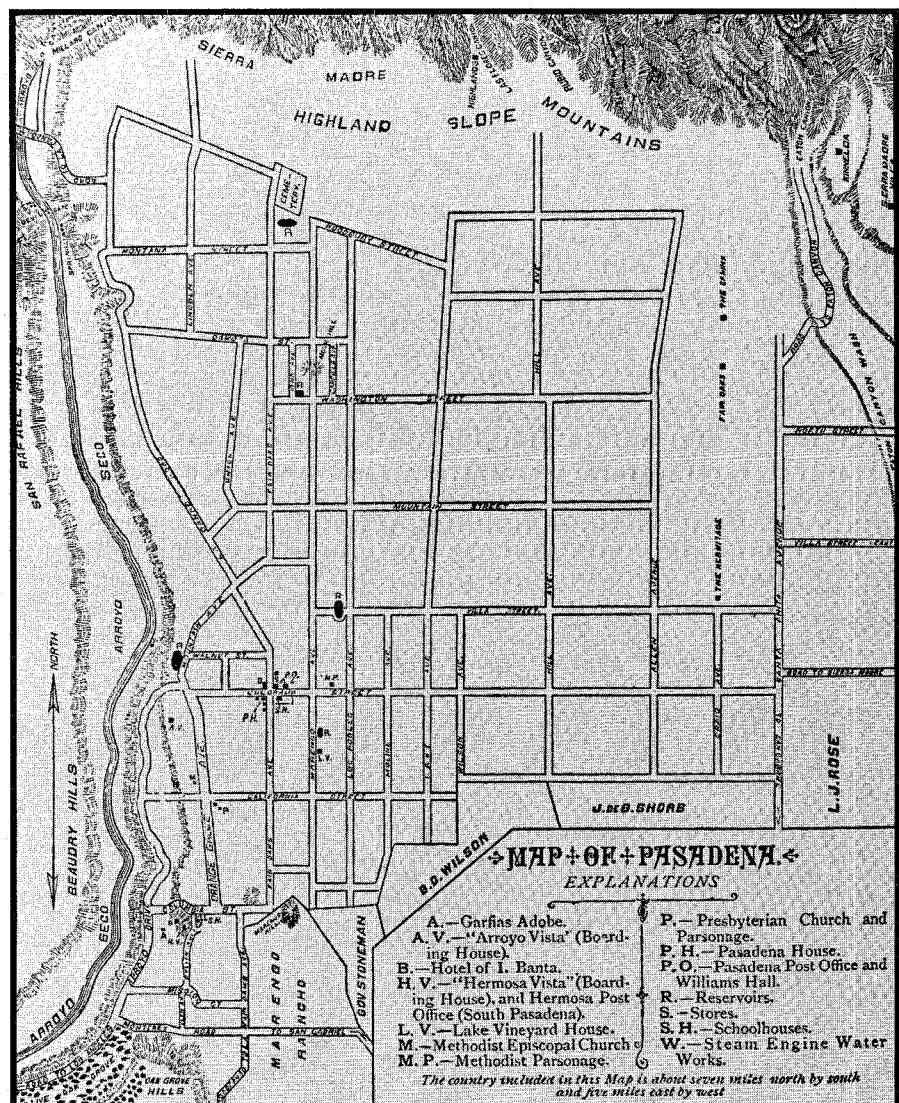
Fletcher reached Los Angeles on December 26 and immediately went to work, traveling each day from the Pico House to San Pasqual. On December 31 he reported his first impressions to Elliott in Indianapolis, noting that "things are strange and out of season." After seeing the expanse of land with occasional clumps of sagebrush and greasewood and doubtless thinking of the heavily wooded forests his father's generation encountered on the frontier of central Indiana, Fletcher noted that "Nature has cleared the land—or rather kept it clear." In fact, he wrote, "the conditions surrounding agriculture & horticulture are so different from those in Ind. that we are poor judges of what we have." Nonetheless, after visiting orchards and ranches in the San Gabriel Valley and seeing "what has been accomplished by *money* directed by *brains* and aided by *time*," Fletcher ventured to predict that "We can do as well I think." He was impressed by the strangeness and the potential of the Rancho

San Pasqual, but he was not awestruck, concluding that "the same amt of dilligence [sic] in other lands might prove as satisfactory in its results." Fletcher even suggested that he might sell his shares in the association.⁵³

Fletcher's guarded reaction soon changed, as he took primary responsibility for surveying and laying out lots and streets. He was especially insistent on preserving as many trees as possible and planting others along the main north-south street, Orange Grove Avenue, and on the several east-west streets that crossed it. Fletcher's consid-

erable experience in agriculture and land development in Indiana did not fully prepare him for California, however. His Hoosier eyes could not believe that the San Pasqual tract was as large as the deed stipulated. Eaton reported that only after walking from the western to the eastern boundary did Fletcher concede, puffing and perspiring in the warm midday sun, that "Gentlemen, it's all here! It's all here!" Nor could Fletcher understand the slope of the land and the direction water would run until he spent a rainy day exploring on foot.⁵⁴ Fletcher's uncertainties soon gave way to warm

First map of Pasadena, made in 1880. The original land of the Indiana Colony is at the lower left, just east of the Arroyo Seco. Photo reproduction courtesy Instructional Media Services, CSU Hayward.



enthusiasm, and rather than reducing his acreage he began to consider buying more. Berry was especially grateful for Fletcher's contribution. He showed a "genius" for dividing the land, Berry reported, and he took "the brunt of everything and stopped at nothing till he carried it through."⁵⁵

By late January 1874, Fletcher had completed his division of the land into long plots running east from the Arroyo Seco. Not only did he provide this service gratuitously but he also suggested that holders of fewer shares in the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association should make their lot selection first. This advice was accepted when on January 27, 1874, the twenty-seven shareholders or their proxies gathered on a high spot overlooking the colony land. Berry called the roll, and, with maps and surveys in hand, they harmoniously selected their individual tracts of between 15 and 180 acres. Fletcher, among the last, took 180 acres on the southern end. Berry selected 180 acres near the northern end, just south of Colorado Street, for the Elliotts and himself. Croft's choice was near the middle, along California Street.⁵⁶

As Nordhoff had warned, land in southern California needed irrigation. Until reservoirs, ditches, and pipes were in place, the colonists had to haul water from the Arroyo. Even before the division of lots, Berry, Fletcher, and the others began the task of bringing water to San Pasqual. Benjamin Eaton, who had first introduced Berry to the land and later himself joined the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, played the major role. Eaton had superintended construction of ditches, flumes, and reservoirs in Los Angeles in the 1860s, and the newcomers from Indiana—where spring and summer rains watered corn and wheat—warmly welcomed his leadership.⁵⁷

In addition to Eaton's expertise, the colonists could draw on a second essential ingredient for irrigation—capital. Here the potential benefits of association were considerable, for as a Los Angeles newspaper report on the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association in December 1873 noted, "by uniting they will be able to bring water on this tract at a mere nominal cost to each. . . ."⁵⁸ Financing the irrigation works proved not quite so simple, however. Berry assumed responsibility for explaining the project and its costs to the members. In letter after letter he insisted that the colony must

fund an extensive, first-class irrigation works. Rather than inexpensive open ditches, which "waste water fearfully in this gravelly land," Berry wrote, "we must tax ourselves \$1 an acre to lay water pipes in good and substantial manner."⁵⁹ It was not only waste of water that concerned Berry, however. He wanted a first-class irrigation project built immediately because it would function as a lure for new land purchasers. "We cannot sell out our land to advantage or with sufficient profit, without showing buyers the water."⁶⁰ With irrigation the land would increase fivefold in value, he predicted. Thus, "if we can raise the money to make water works and roads & pay for our land we can then sell off enough to support us till our lands are bearing fruit."⁶¹ Here was Berry's fundamental strategy: develop the land, principally with irrigation pipe, plant orange trees and other crops, and sell lots to provide financial support until the oranges, lemons, and grapes produced a steady income. For men with limited capital this was a promising door of entry into California's still infant orange grove culture.⁶²

Berry's was a sensible, but costly, development strategy. His initial estimate of the financial burden to each member proved far too low. In letters to Indianapolis he gradually raised the amount each investor owed for the irrigation works until he wrote in late March that the directors had agreed on an assessment of twenty percent of each's capital stock. "The strong stockholders will pay at once," he concluded, "and the weak will have to be helped along till they can sell off a small portion of their land."⁶³ Some objected, in particular the Vawter family of Vernon, Indiana. They "want land, land, land, but don't see that *water* is the thing we have to pay for," Berry wrote Elliott. "Get 'em to take less land and more water in the shape of assessments," he advised.⁶⁴

As work on water pipes and the reservoir progressed in late winter and early spring 1874, Berry intensified his efforts to encourage Thomas and Helen Elliott to move west. He continued his usual tactic of making invidious comparisons between California and Indiana climates. "It is a sorry recommendation of your fine weather to see in every Indianapolis paper that somebody has just been killed by pneumonia," he wrote Helen Elliott, and then recalled an earlier winter in Indiana when

he "lived on quinine, whisky and morphine."⁶⁵ In May, when spring brought lovely buds and blooms to the Hoosier countryside, Berry recalled only the "bilious White River bottoms."⁶⁶ To "young men who are looking up wives to bring here," Berry playfully advised, "they can get plenty of beautiful girls here, and save \$160. expense of moving the dear things here."⁶⁷ He continued, too, his pleas to the Elliotts to sell all their Indianapolis properties, even at a loss, including their Crown Hill cemetery lots and the office furniture and safe.⁶⁸ And he addressed forthrightly Helen's concerns about the cultural and social backwardness of southern California. Unlike Indiana, "California is a new unfinished country, and hasn't a Presbyterian Church on every corner and a sidewalk and a sewing society in front of every house," he admitted. "All is new, romantic, rude, quaint, peculiar." But, "if one waits for Eastern improvements before coming land will be so dear that few can buy it. So I am willing to take the country barefooted and wait for shoes and stockings."⁶⁹ A few weeks later he assured Helen Elliott that "We shall have a school house, and use it as a church...."⁷⁰

Berry also kept the Elliotts and other correspondents informed on the progress of irrigation and agricultural works. By early April he reported that he had thirty-five acres plowed on the Elliott and Berry lands and ten acres of wheat planted, as well as some corn, potatoes, and beans. He and other settlers had begun planting vineyards too, though contrary to his initial claims, it was necessary "to haul water a mile in a large cask and pour about two quarts down each hole."⁷¹ As soon as the irrigation work was finished, the colonists would start planting orange trees. He proudly noted in mid-April that "four houses are built and two others are going up."⁷² Berry was by then living on his land in a newly built cabin, though still without a roof. In mid-May he reported happily that the last water pipe was in place.⁷³

Berry's promotion of southern California extended beyond the membership of the Indiana Colony. He sent notices about the land and its attractions to Indianapolis and Chicago newspapers. The Indianapolis *Journal* published one of his pieces in late May:

In the few weeks since the Hoosiers took possession of their land great activity has prevailed.

Three miles of flume and ditch have been made; three miles of large iron pipe made, laid, and covered below the depth of a plow; a reservoir with the capacity of three million gallons has been constructed on the highest land of the settlement, and the water let in.... Eighty acres of grain have been raised for hay, 100,000 grape cuttings have been planted, and a large quantity of orange and lime seed; about ten thousand small trees for nursery planting have been purchased; and a large area of land prepared for corn and semi-tropical fruits.⁷⁴

Berry entertained visitors and potential land buyers who arrived from Indiana and elsewhere, and he corresponded with writers seeking help, as, for example, two young women from Indiana who wrote to request Berry's aid in finding them schoolteaching positions. In mentioning one request for information about southern California, Berry told Elliott that it was only "a sample of 50 other Indianapolis fools" and that "it would take three men all the time to gather and write the information needed."⁷⁵

Berry in fact welcomed much of this activity, because by spring 1874 he was not only developing his land at San Pasqual but also selling real estate. He opened a real estate office in Los Angeles and advertised among his services "Colony Lands Selected." Pleading with Elliott, Berry wrote "The real estate business is destined to be a great business here; but I cannot do that and the Ranch and the Colony, all. I want you here today to take hold and push things."⁷⁶ A few weeks later he repeated his plea, adding that if Elliott took charge of the Los Angeles real estate office "I will run the ranch and start another colony next winter."⁷⁷

Berry received part of the help he requested when his son Fred, who worked for Thomas Elliott, left Indianapolis for California, arriving in June 1874. Young Fred reported that "The face of the country is all parched & dried and looks bad to an Easterner." But having read his father's letters, he "expected it, [and] I am not disappointed."⁷⁸

The best news came when Thomas and Helen Elliott at last decided to leave Indiana. Berry continued his flow of advice and encouragement, suggesting in late October that they should pack "only the things needed. I brought too much stuff."⁷⁹ His last communication from them was a late November telegram sent from Omaha, where



Pasadena, ca. 1883, looking northwest. Orchards and house gardens are more mature than in the 1876 photograph. *Courtesy Pasadena Historical Society.*

the Elliotts were en route via the Union Pacific. There would be no more winters for them in Indiana. In early December they walked with Berry on the land he had so glowingly pictured for them.⁸⁰

A growing community needed a proper name. In early 1874 Berry had suggested that "as the majority are Hoosiers how would it do to call the town 'Hoosier'?"⁸¹ Others suggested Indianola. These suggestions were not taken up, doubtless because emigrants from other states soon outnumbered Indianans. Iowa in particular sent large numbers of emigrants to the community.⁸² Eventually Elliott suggested the name Pasadena, which he reported was a Chippewa Indian word meaning crown, or key, of the valley. This name was formally adopted in April 1875, though as late as the 1880s the community was still referred to as the Indiana Colony and mail with that address continued to reach its residents.⁸³

The land Berry found in September 1873 changed quickly. Within two years, members of the Indiana Colony and other newly arrived settlers built forty houses and planted 10,000 orange and

lemon trees and 150,000 grape vines, as well as ornamental trees along the streets, particularly Orange Grove Avenue.⁸⁴ The new community, the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce claimed in 1876, was "one of the best examples of what can be done with water and industry to be found in Los Angeles County."⁸⁵ By 1880 there were two schoolhouses and a Methodist and Presbyterian church. According to one observer, most of the 120 families lived in "a comfortable house...approached by a drive through an orange grove which invariably fronts the neatly kept avenues."⁸⁶

The hopes of Berry, the Elliotts, Fletcher, Croft, and the others for their new community in southern California were largely fulfilled. Pasadena became a sizeable and prosperous town, especially with major expansion of railroad service in the mid-1880s. Booster pamphlets boasted of the healthful climate and the beauty of the landscape, luring growing numbers of residents and winter tourists with images like those Berry painted in his letters back to Indiana in 1873-1874. The schools and churches Berry promised appeared quickly, as did a literary society, all essential requisites of



Helen Elliott as a young woman, ca. 1853. Mrs. Elliott's eagerness to escape the cold Midwest winters convinced her husband to pursue relocation in Pasadena, where she became a prominent civic leader. *Courtesy Pasadena Historical Society.*

community life for these middle-class midwesterners. Strong temperance principles accompanied them west also and not only prohibited sale of alcohol but also united sentiment to grow grapes for raisins and table use rather than wine. The town's board of trade boasted in 1888 that Pasadena was "made up not of the classes generally to be found in typical western border towns, but of

people of the highest culture and intelligence," people with "the same refinement and social conditions that exist in the East."⁸⁷ The country was not barefooted long.

The members of the Indiana Colony thus met the challenges of settling in southern California. Through their collective enterprise they gradually learned about the strange land. They learned how

to replicate their midwestern towns in the warm sunshine, with orange groves rather than cornfields, with real estate development rather than grain commission houses, with live oak trees rather than tulip poplars, with irrigation pipes rather than drainage ditches. It was a harder task than they expected—perhaps not as hard as pioneering on the midwestern frontier a generation or two earlier—but more different from Indiana or Iowa experiences than these newcomers anticipated. They met also the challenge of raising capital for land purchase and development, even when faced with the additional burden of the Panic of 1873. And they quickly and firmly transplanted their social and cultural institutions to their new community.

The success of the Indiana Colony and of other settlements in southern California in the 1870s did not go unnoticed. By the end of the century midwestern storekeepers, lawyers, farmers, and their families were flooding into southern California, much as they had begun to trickle there in the 1870s. A momentous change in California history was in the making.⁸⁸

Not all the Indiana Colony left the Midwest for California. The most important case was Calvin Fletcher, Jr. He and his family lived in Europe for a time, but his wife preferred Indiana, even to

California, and there they stayed. Fletcher returned to Pasadena for the second anniversary of the colony's land division, on January 27, 1876, where he spoke, along with Thomas Elliott and others. He still owned 80 acres in Pasadena as late as 1881, but Indiana remained his home.⁸⁹ Berry settled permanently in California but not for long in Pasadena. Although he continued to sing the praises of the Indiana Colony, he soon left to resume a career in journalism, editing the Los Angeles *Daily Commercial* and then working as city editor of the Los Angeles *Herald*. He died in San Fernando in 1887.⁹⁰

The Elliotts did stay, living on Orange Grove Avenue in Pasadena. Thomas Elliott died in 1881, but Helen Elliott lived until 1923. Known as the "Mother of Pasadena," doubtless she often repeated her heartfelt winter sentiment of 1873—"Let others stay here and freeze if they wish; I'm going to California."⁹¹

See notes beginning on page 307.

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Sara Bard Field in 1920, as photographed by W.E. Dassonville, San Francisco. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

Sara Bard Field, Charles Erskine Scott Wood, and the Phenomenon of Migratory Divorce

by Glenda Riley

On May 18, 1913, Sara Bard Field boarded a ship in Portland, Oregon.* With her sister Mary and her four-year-old daughter Katherine, Field sailed to San Francisco where she spent \$62.70 on three train tickets to Goldfield, Nevada. During the train's Sacramento stop, she mailed a letter to her husband telling him of her plans. When the trio arrived in Goldfield, they discovered a "typical mining town," but to their amazement and delight, Goldfield's hotel boasted running water, bathtubs, electricity, and "excellent food." On May 23, Field met with an attorney to initiate a divorce suit against her husband, Albert Ehr Gott.¹

Many years later, Sara explained that her divorce from Ehr Gott was inevitable because she was a "girl" of eighteen when she married him, and as she matured, she grew away from him. As she became interested in such liberal causes as woman suffrage, he became more "narrow and inflexible . . . fanatical and intolerant." After "much physical, mental, and spiritual suffering," she had decided on divorce by early 1913, when her doctor sent her to a tuberculosis sanitarium in Pasadena. But Albert, a Baptist minister, blamed her alienation from him on California attorney, writer, and reformer Charles Erskine Scott Wood, whom Sara had met in 1910 when she was twenty-eight and Wood was fifty-eight. Ehr Gott wrote Wood accusing him of corrupting Sara with "free love poison" and warning Wood to stay away from his wife. Ehr Gott also wrote to Sara's sister Mary, saying that Sara had been happy with him until "Mr. Wood came along." He added that "certain unsurmountable reasons make it absolutely impossible

to grant Sara any legal release from her marriage vows."²

Faced by her husband's opposition to a divorce, Sara resolved to go to Nevada, preferably to a town that was far from "the unpleasant notoriety of Reno," to obtain a migratory divorce. During the early 1900s, Reno had garnered fame as a divorce mill, largely because of a six-month residency requirement for citizenship, voting, and divorce that had been set to accommodate the needs of a rapidly-changing and highly mobile population of miners and entrepreneurs. In 1900, an English nobleman catapulted Reno into public view when he obtained a scandalous divorce there. Other famous people soon took advantage of Nevada's six-month residency requirement and liberal grounds for divorce that included a broad, catch-all cruelty provision. In 1907, a New York City lawyer established an office in Reno and published a pamphlet describing the attractions of Reno and his own qualifications as a divorce attorney.³

Within a few years, the people of Reno were embroiled in a struggle that pitted the pro-divorce advocates against the anti-divorce faction. On February 7, 1913, a mass of anti-divorce protestors thronged into the Nevada state capitol in Carson City demanding that a bill requiring one year's residence of all divorce-seekers be pushed through the legislature. Yet, when Field met with her attorney in Goldfield in late May of that year, he told her that he could get her a divorce decree in less than the required six months if her husband would come to Goldfield and give his consent. "What a wonderful relief it would be," wrote the euphoric Field, "if I could have this case come up at once and not have to endure this dreary six months waiting." Albert, however, continued to oppose her. Thus, Field rented a small four-room house for

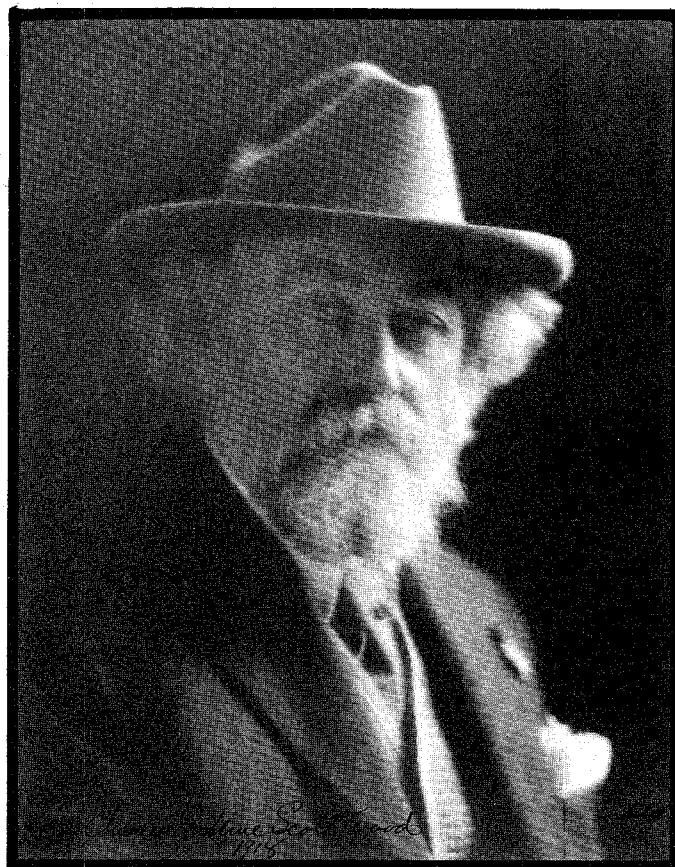
*The author would like to thank the Huntington Library for research support in 1988-89 on this and a larger project.

twenty dollars a month, where she and her daughter Kay lived until Field's divorce was finally granted in 1914, after what she termed "long, unnecessary delays."⁴

Nearly three years later, Charles Scott Wood retired from his law practice and left his wife, a staunch Catholic who refused to divorce him. He and Sara Field established a home together in San Francisco, an action that elicited a range of opinions from Sara's family. Sara's eldest child Albert, a young adolescent five years older than his sister Kay, wrote to Wood: "I hope that it won't be so very long now when people who love each other will not have to have a few silly damn fool words said over them by a parson to make them a so-called husband and wife." Albert added that he had never seen "a love so great and wonderful and beautiful" as that shared by his mother and Wood. Ehr Gott also wrote to Wood, but in a very different tone. He told Wood that his "dribbling philosophy of free love is but a futile excuse for an unholy indulgence of 'love' and a sacrilegious intrusion into another man's home which an aroused public conscience will not much longer tolerate." Ehr Gott accused Wood of stealing another man's wife, trifling with God, and defying public opinion and morals. He refused to let Sara have any time with Kay, and when young Albert died, he blamed Sara and Wood for the tragedy.⁵

Ehr Gott was mistaken about the public's conscience and opinions. As Americans entered the second decade of the twentieth century, they were more committed than ever to democracy, individualism, and the right of citizens to make decisions about their own lives as long as their actions did not harm others. As a result, a new code of morality gained adherents, as the anti-divorce arguments of religious leaders, moralists, and conservative reformers lost ground. At the same time, a growing number of articles in magazines and newspapers supported the idea of divorce as a positive act and an American citizen's prerogative. Divorce was also increasingly prevalent in the nation's literature, for writers now frequently took marital upheaval and divorce as their themes. The southern novelist Amelie Rives, who had herself divorced during the 1890s, portrayed lovely heroines who graced Virginia plantations, while the menace of marital upheaval, divorce, and in one case, a migratory divorce in North Dakota, closed in upon them. Later in the period, Mari Sandoz explored the issues of wife abuse and divorce in the West, particularly in her autobiographical novel *Old Jules*.⁶

Many Americans were growing increasingly wary of the dire predictions that society and the



Charles Erskine Scott Wood, ca. 1918. Courtesy Huntington Library.

family would both be damaged if numbers of divorces continued to grow in the United States. Admittedly, the American family showed signs of change, yet it remained vital. And American society faced many problems, but the United States was hardly in decline. In addition, many Americans had widely embraced Progressivism, which preached optimism, the value of change, and growing freedom for the individual citizen. Often, Progressives joined with feminists and others who envisioned a happier future and called for new family arrangements based upon the equality of spouses and freedom of choice to stay in a marriage or leave it.⁷ In 1910, a former justice of the Supreme Court expressed the new moral attitude when he stated that he failed to understand why the partnership created by marriage differed from a commercial partnership, or why "one may be dissolved at

pleasure while the other is indissoluble."⁸ About the same time, such well-known people as novelist Upton Sinclair and socialist organizer Emma Goldman were positing theories of radical relationships, including sexual experimentation, equality of women and men, liberal divorce, and free love.

Yet, when Meta Sinclair experimented with poet Harry Kemp, her radical love theorist husband reacted in a traditional way by suing her for divorce in 1911 and naming her lover as co-respondent. Every tabloid in the United States aired the debate over new ideas regarding love, marriage, and divorce. Meta explained that she was merely doing what Sinclair had preached; she was seeking her independence and self-fulfillment. Her quest, journalists revealed to an entranced public, supposedly involved a sexually-vital man as opposed to her sexually-inadequate husband. The Sinclair divorce scandal and its heated interchanges concerning ideals of free love regularly made newspaper headlines. After several divorce hearings in New York courts made it clear that the state's restrictive divorce laws would prevent Sinclair from getting a divorce, he determinedly traveled to the Netherlands, where he quickly obtained a migratory divorce.⁹

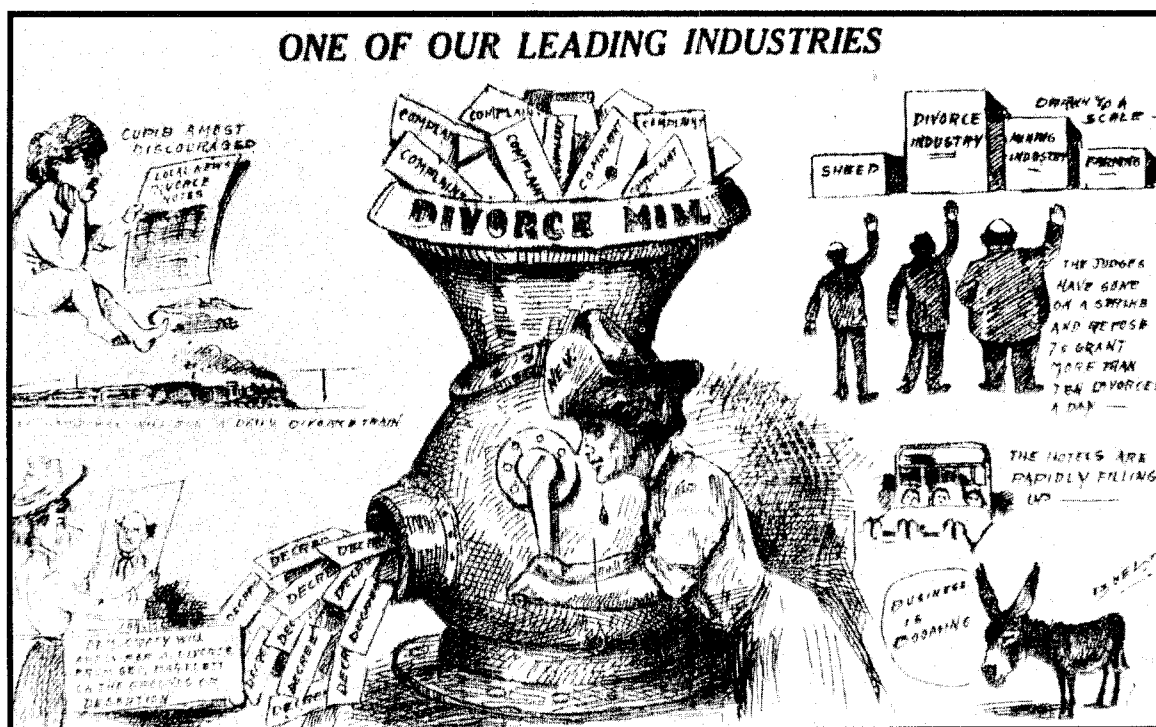
Russian immigrant and reformer Emma Goldman, who was well-known to Californians, also received frequent public attention during this period. After she fled from a brief marriage to another Russian immigrant undertaken when she was seventeen, she began to argue her unorthodox views on the speaking-platform, from behind jail bars, and in the pages of the radical *Mother Earth News*, which she founded and edited between 1906 and 1918. Red Emma, as she was known, attacked what she labeled the myth of women's emancipation, and she insisted that man-woman relationships must be based on equality, for "a true relation of the sexes will not admit of conqueror and conquered." She also supported free love and began to advocate birth control six years before Margaret Sanger began her campaign. As an editor, Goldman frequently published the work of authors who called for complete freedom of divorce, branded marriage obsolete, or espoused total sexual freedom.¹⁰

A best-selling novel written by a Californian and published in 1921, took a different tack in arguing for easy divorce in the United States. In a plot full of twists and turns, Charles Norris's *Brass: A Novel of Marriage* described the close relationship of American ideals to easy divorce through its characters' marital attitudes. When the novel's protagonist Philip first learned about the darker side of

marriage, he found divorce repugnant: "People he considered decent did not get divorces." Despite his aversion to it, Philip's wife divorced him. The next woman he loved was a Catholic who rejected him with disgust when she learned that he was divorced. Philip eventually remarried, but again was unhappy. When a minister tried to convince him that "a bond dissoluble at will in the divorce court is not a foundation upon which civilized society can endure," Philip balked, for he had come to believe that a democratic country should freely allow divorce. Norris, who was evidently thinking of the Declaration of Independence, had Philip proclaim that the United States "Constitution specifies 'liberty and the pursuit of happiness' for all."¹¹ Although he was somewhat confused about the document that stated the relevant principles, Norris firmly believed that democracy and divorce went hand-in-hand.

This new morality and view toward marriage and divorce had an impact in the early twentieth century on the attitudes of numerous Americans, including middle-class people like Sara Field and Charles Wood. In 1927, Wood put his philosophy of marriage into words when he wrote to his estranged son Erskine in an attempt to explain his and Field's relationship. Wood optimistically wrote of his belief that "old, narrow and early crude conventions" based on the "right of possession and the justness of jealousy" were breaking down and that "conventions founded on the right of every individual to his own soul and his own life" were gradually replacing the older notions. The "old idea of the sacrament of marriage" was fading as well, because so many marriages ended in "shipwrecks." If marriage was based upon the "mutual love of the parties and the mutual desire for companionship and mutual willingness to live together," then, "when this mutual desire to live together ends," the marriage relation also ends. To Wood, it was unethical to force two people to live together "against the will of either." He was baffled that so many people failed to see that freedom to part was "best for society and the race," that every couple forced to remain together despite altered feelings was "a cancer," and that "every refusal of freedom leads to falsities." Wood swore that he and Field would never marry; their refusal to marry would be their protest against "the archaic superstition and falsity" known as marriage.¹²

Charles Wood's hopes that these great changes in attitudes toward relationships and marriage would occur by the time his grandchildren reached maturity failed to materialize, although a steadily



Cartoonist Arthur Buel's commentary on Reno's divorce "industry" appeared in a Nevada newspaper on May 20, 1909. *Courtesy Nevada Historical Society.*

climbing divorce rate indicated that relationships and marriages themselves were undergoing substantial change. Regardless of how the divorce rate was computed, its pattern was the same: gradually upwards. Whether the number of divorces was compared to total population, numbers of married population, or number of marriages in a given year, the resulting ratio showed an ascending curve that continued to place the United States' divorce rate ahead of that of other nations. Although the divorce rate was already abnormally high after World War I, when hasty war-time marriages collapsed and others succumbed to war-related stresses, it climbed steadily during the 1920s, compounding annually at about three percent per year. In other words, by the late 1920s, slightly more than one of every six marriages ended in divorce.¹³

Although divorce statistics indicated that only between three and twenty percent of these divorces were obtained in different states than the state of marriage, and that only a few of these involved spouses who had purposely migrated to get a divorce, complaints about migratory divorce, like the one obtained by Sara Bard Field in Nevada, increased during the 1920s. Certainly, sticky situations could result when a spouse from a strict divorce state obtained a divorce in a liberal state and then returned to the home state or other strict

jurisdiction. Was a Reno divorce gained in six months, on the basis of any one of seven liberal grounds, valid in such strict divorce states as New York or South Carolina, or would the decree be considered invalid?

The "full faith and credit" provision written into the United States Constitution by founders anxious to maintain legislative and judicial consistency in a nation composed of disparate states, and a full faith and credit act passed by the United States Congress on May 26, 1790, should have solved such problems. According to the full faith and credit doctrine, each individual state was obligated to recognize "the public Acts, Records, and Judicial Proceedings of every other state" in the union. If an action was valid in the jurisdiction where pronounced, it was theoretically valid everywhere in the United States; if it was questionable in its own jurisdiction, it was open to question elsewhere.

But in the case of divorce actions, full faith and credit turned out to be a difficult principle to apply. Because each individual state had the right to regulate the marital status of its citizens according to its own standards of morality and public policy, some states established statutes concerning marriage and divorce that were incompatible with those of other states. Being called upon to grant full faith and credit to the marriage and divorce

provisions of another state could force a state to subvert its own morals and policies. If, for example, a particular state mandated one strict ground for divorce such as adultery, must that state give full faith and credit to a decree obtained by one of its citizens in another state offering a more lenient ground such as mental cruelty? If a state had to accept the more permissive cruelty decree under the full faith and credit doctrine, was it not being forced to expand its own limited grounds against its will and original intent?

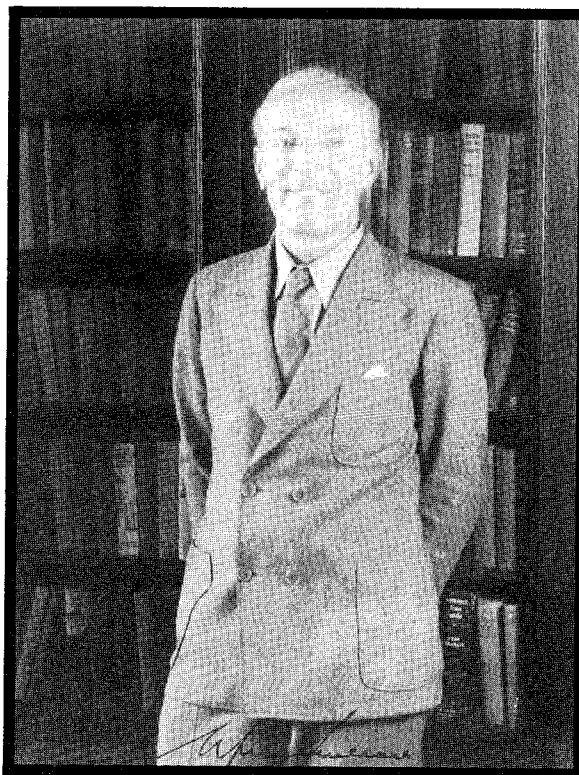
But, if full faith and credit was not extended to divorce decrees obtained in other states, chaos might ensue. If a citizen of a strict state obtained a divorce in a liberal state and then remarried, he or she would be a bigamist if the home state refused to give full faith and credit to the divorce decree. Such a refusal to recognize the validity of the divorce and remarriage would also illegitimate the children of the second marriage and create two sets of claims on property by the wives of the twice-married spouse.

Migratory divorce cases occasionally caused the full faith and credit doctrine to collide head-on with the states' rights principle that a state may regulate the marital status of its own citizens. From time to time, a spouse whose mate obtained a divorce in another state challenged the validity of that decree in the courts of his or her home state. In other cases, one spouse had filed a suit for divorce in the couple's home state at the same time that the other spouse was applying for a decree in another state. Which of these actions should predominate?

These conflicts might have been resolved by the rule that a state's court must give full faith and credit to the action of another state when the jurisdiction of the other state was unimpeachable, but, because divorce law encompassed so many contradictory concepts of jurisdiction, a divorce court's jurisdiction was often vulnerable to attack. As early as 1813, Stephen Fitch of Connecticut obtained a Vermont divorce and then married Rebecca Borden of New York. Borden's mother, who considered Fitch's first marriage still valid, sued him for debauching her daughter and won \$5,000 in damages. When Fitch appealed the verdict, the New York Supreme Court upheld the judgment, ruling that the Vermont divorce was invalid.¹⁴ But, in 1832, the Maine Supreme Court upheld a divorce obtained by a wife in Rhode Island for her husband's alleged adultery in North Carolina. And in 1874, the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled that one husband's Indiana divorce was valid, even though his wife was uninformed of the divorce proceedings.¹⁵

In 1906, faced with a number of similar cases, the United States Supreme Court established a general principle that would be widely-applied to migratory divorce appeals for the next thirty-six years. In the case of *Haddock v. Haddock*, the court ruled five to four in favor of Harriet Haddock's contention that her husband's Connecticut divorce was invalid. Because the couple's marital domicile was New York, the court decreed that it was up to a New York court to decide whether to put the Haddocks asunder.¹⁶

After 1906, some judges followed the principle of marital domicile established in *Haddock v. Haddock*, but others used residency periods of jurisdictions to guide their decisions regarding migratory divorces. Some judges felt that if basic residency requirements had been met in the venue where the divorce was granted, the divorce deserved full faith and credit, but if the plaintiff appeared to have established residency only to obtain a divorce decree, it should not receive full faith and credit.



Novelist Upton Sinclair sought a Netherlands divorce to circumvent restrictive New York laws in 1911. In 1917, Sinclair settled in Pasadena, from which he embarked on a career as a radical politician culminating in his failed campaign for the governor's office in 1934. Courtesy Huntington Library.

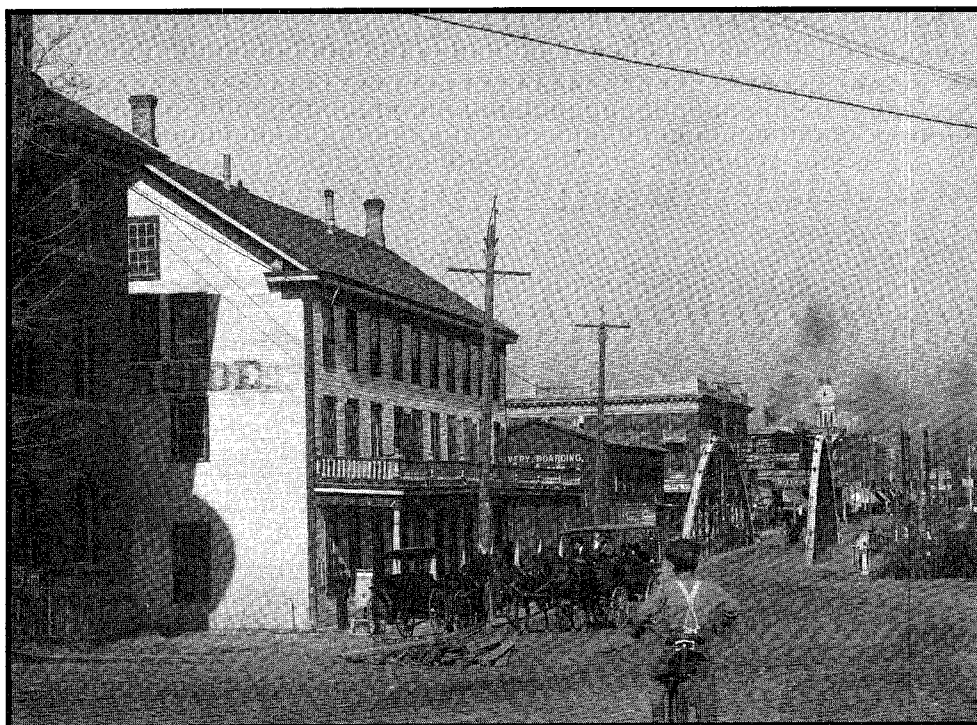
As the twentieth century progressed and Americans became increasingly more mobile, and affluent enough to escape the rigid divorce laws of their own states and temporarily locate in other more liberal jurisdictions, the number of migratory divorces seemed to increase. Despite statisticians' continued assurances that the number of migratory divorces was not overly high, the blatant publicity garnered by Reno and other divorce mills convinced the general public otherwise. Also, courts in strict divorce states were increasingly called upon to resolve the thorny issues that resulted from migratory divorces. In some cases, these state courts had to appeal to higher tribunals for assistance.

One particularly complicated case involving migratory divorce reached the United States Supreme Court in 1942. The situation that resulted in the case of *Williams, et al., v North Carolina* began when Lillie Hendrix and Otis Williams left North Carolina to relocate in Las Vegas, Nevada, for six weeks. After establishing the basic residency requirement of sixty days in the state of Nevada, they both obtained divorces from their respective spouses, who still resided in North Carolina. Hendrix and Williams immediately wed each other and returned to North Carolina as a married couple. Following the earlier ruling in *Haddock v. Haddock*, a North Carolina court then charged the

couple with bigamous cohabitation under North Carolina law and sentenced them to two years' imprisonment, even though they had submitted their Nevada divorce decrees in their defense. After the Supreme Court of North Carolina upheld the bigamy conviction, the couple appealed the judgment to the United States Supreme Court. In 1942, the Supreme Court ruled that because due process had been followed, the Nevada decrees deserved full faith and credit in North Carolina. The court thus overturned the earlier decision in *Haddock v. Haddock* and the Hendrix/Williams bigamy conviction, although Justices Robert Jackson and Frank Murphy strongly objected to this decision on the grounds that it repealed "the divorce laws of all the states and substitutes the law of Nevada" in instances where husbands or wives could afford trips to Nevada.¹⁷

Many divorce court judges subsequently attempted to follow the precedent established in this 1942 United States Supreme Court decision. In 1943, the case of *Lambert v. Lambert* raised the issue of the validity of a Nevada divorce decree in the state of New York. The Lamberts had married in New York in 1920 and separated twenty-one years later. John Lambert then relocated in Nevada, petitioned for a divorce on the ground of mental cruelty, married another woman on the day the divorce was granted, and moved to Massachusetts.

Reno, Nevada, ca. 1900, looking across the old Truckee River bridge. The Washoe County Courthouse, destination of early twentieth-century divorce-seekers, is the small domed building in the distance, beyond the bridge. Courtesy Huntington Library.



But Lambert's wife Beatrice had filed a petition for divorce on the ground of adultery before Lambert left for Nevada, an action that called the validity of his decree into question. Following the 1942 *Williams v. North Carolina* decision, the Monroe County court in New York ruled that the Nevada divorce deserved full faith and credit because Lambert had met Nevada's legal requirements for a divorce. The court thus denied Beatrice Lambert's attempt to obtain a New York divorce that would have included a more favorable property settlement for her than did the Nevada decree.¹⁸

In the meantime, the state of North Carolina again indicted Hendrix and Williams for bigamy, arguing that they had failed to establish a *bona fide* residence in Nevada. In 1945, the Supreme Court explored this additional issue: did six weeks' residency in the Alamo Auto Court in Las Vegas constitute valid residence? This hearing explored the question of whether North Carolina courts had to give full faith and credit to a divorce when the petitioners had failed to establish a *bona fide* domicile in Nevada. In 1945 the Supreme Court ruled that because residency in this case was a sham, North Carolina was free to deny full faith and credit to the Nevada decrees. Consequently, the state of North Carolina could now convict the couple for bigamy.¹⁹

The second *Williams* decision established the principle that if a divorce-seeker took up residence in a state only to acquire a divorce, the resulting decree was not entitled to full faith and credit by other states, but if a petitioner maintained a genuine residence and established a real domicile, the divorce decree was entitled to full faith and credit in other jurisdictions. Although this ruling came too late to help Beatrice Lambert, it did affect other litigants. In 1946 the case of *Crouch v. Crouch* came before the Supreme Court of California. Edith M. Crouch challenged the validity of Ben E. Crouch's Nevada decree by entering her own divorce petition that included a claim on their property. The court found that Ben Crouch had established bogus residence in Nevada because he had no intention of becoming a Nevada citizen except for the explicit purpose of securing a divorce that would grant him a more favorable property settlement than offered under California law. The California court granted Edith the right to file a divorce petition, including a property claim, against Ben, whom the court considered to be her legal spouse despite his Nevada decree.²⁰

After 1945, then, a general principle regarding migratory divorces prevailed: according to the United States Constitution, congressional action

of 1790, and subsequent judicial rulings, a valid divorce decree granted in one state was entitled to, but might not always receive, full faith and credit from other states. Although it was generally true that a decree that was valid in the jurisdiction where it was rendered was valid everywhere, that validity was not guaranteed because a home state's rule could also be used to determine validity.²¹

The full faith and credit doctrine also generally excluded divorces granted by jurisdictions outside the United States. No state was required to recognize the validity of a divorce granted by another country, although most frequently did so on the principle of comity; and it was fully within a state's right to reject a decree that offended its moral standards or opposed its own public policy. As other destinations became attractive to increasingly-mobile Americans, it also became unsafe to assume that a quick divorce granted by Mexico, for example, would hold in the courts of the petitioner's home state.²²

Clearly, the right of individual states to regulate the marital status of their citizens restricted the application of the full faith and credit principle in cases of divorce. As Justice Murphy had argued in his dissenting opinion in the first *Williams* appeal, divorce actions involved not only constitutional principles, but the interaction of the Constitution and state policy. Although Murphy did not envision state courts as censors of public morals, he argued that "marriage and the family have generally been regarded as basic components of our national life, and the solution of the problems engendered by the marital relation, the formulation of standards of public morality in connection therewith, and the supervision of domestic (in the sense of the family) affairs, have been left to the individual states," each of which had "the deepest concern for its citizens" in such matters. He concluded that when a conflict arose between two states on matters of domestic policy, a court could not simply apply the constitutional principle of full faith and credit, but had to take into account the moral values and public policy of the states involved. This interpretation has guided the application of full faith and credit in divorce actions until the present day, so that a wife who has to accept the validity of a husband's out-of-state decree might also receive alimony or custody of children by order of a court in their home state.²³

In 1969, the California legislature initiated reform divorce legislation that reshaped the phenomenon of migratory divorce. California legislators became the first in the nation to act on the recommendations of reformers by instituting no-



Sara Field, photographed here in later life, and Charles Wood remained together until Wood's death in 1944. They married in 1938 to avoid legal complications involving their separate estates. Courtesy Huntington Library.

fault divorce. After studying various reform plans and the 1966 Report of the Governor's Commission on the Family that recommended change, California legislators began drafting a no-fault divorce code in 1967. In 1969, the legislature approved the Family Law Act; Governor Ronald Reagan signed it into law on September 5, 1969. The bill, which went into effect on January 1, 1970, eliminated California's seven grounds for divorce and replaced them with two no-fault provisions: irremediable breakdown of a marriage and incurable insanity. Further, it permitted divorce after a couple had lived in California for six months or more and had demonstrated to a court's satisfaction that their marriage was destroyed and conciliation impossible. The court was to award custody of children and alimony based on a spouse's need for support and ability to pay, and all property was to be divided equally between spouses. The final decree was to be known as a dissolution, rather than a divorce decree. Legislators hoped that such provisions would eliminate the concept of fault in marital terminations and obviate the need for petitioners to present evidence that blackened the character of their spouses.²⁴

California's no-fault divorce code marked the beginning of a widespread alteration of divorce law in the United States. In 1971, Iowa became the first state to follow California in instituting no-fault divorce. In addition, Iowa divorce law required marital counseling and a ninety-day cooling off period before a divorce was granted. As other state legislatures followed California and Iowa's lead by revising their state's laws along no-fault lines, the

divorce rate shot up alarmingly in no-fault states and dropped in Nevada. People no longer had to remain in difficult marriages, seek annulments and separations, or relocate temporarily to obtain a migratory divorce. Statistical analysts and other experts were now convinced that strict divorce laws failed to protect the family. Such laws simply pushed aggrieved couples to take other actions and to fall into different statistical categories than divorcing couples.²⁵

No-fault divorce laws did not end migratory divorce completely, however. Instead, no-fault divorce laws seem to have given the divorce shopping mentality a new twist. A 1988 article in the *Wall Street Journal* explained that divorce-seekers no longer shopped for a jurisdiction with a short residency requirement, but looked instead for a state whose settlement terms were best-suited to their particular situations. The author speculated that California laws tended to favor the spouse with less property because of its community property provisions requiring that all property be split equally between divorcing mates, while Texas courts might favor women who wanted custody of their children because juries could often be swayed by emotional appeals. Of course, the drawback of such a ploy was that the case could turn into a jurisdictional battle between one spouse petitioning for a divorce and child custody in the couple's home state and the other spouse trying to achieve the same ends in another.²⁶

Further complicating the tendency to shop for a divorce was a 1977 United States Supreme Court ruling, *Bates v. State Bar of Arizona*, which gave

attorneys permission to advertise their services. Soon, American lawyers advertised easy and inexpensive divorces more frequently than any other single legal service. According to these advertisements, divorces could be obtained for the bargain price of \$50 to \$100. In international advertisements, attorneys assured divorce-seekers of all nationalities that they could get an American divorce rapidly, cheaply, and without traveling to the United States. In a 1988 edition of the *International Herald Tribune*, classified advertisements informed divorce-seekers that some divorce attorneys even offered the services of agents in such locations as Amsterdam in the Netherlands and Guam.²⁷ These advertisements created the impression that a floating, worldwide divorce market existed.

Despite many Americans' outrage against the phenomenon of migratory divorce, and a long-term attempt on the part of the courts to reform it, some divorce-seekers continue to search for the most amenable jurisdiction for their circumstances. Others, however, find their home jurisdictions far more accommodating to their divorce plans than they were before California's institution of no-fault divorce in 1970. Sara Bard Field and Charles Scott Wood would not be plagued by the same problems today; their unconventional relationship would simply be one of many similar arrangements.

And what of Field and Wood during the years following Field's migratory divorce action in Gold-

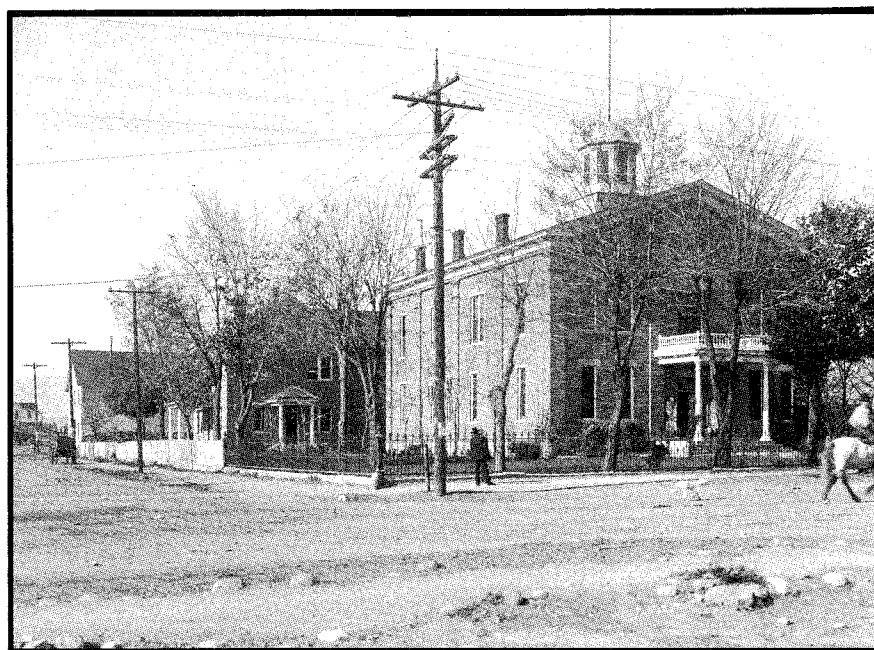
field, Nevada? Field, who was divorced, and Wood, who had separated from his wife, lived together without marrying for many years. Sara recalled that when Wood's wife died in 1933, she and Charles did not even consider marriage, because they believed that "neither church nor state should interfere in a relationship" unless it involved other people. Because they had no children, they saw no reason "to seek legal sanction" for such a long-established relationship. But in 1937, when Charles was eighty-five, he had a serious heart attack. Facing his own mortality made him realize that Sara might be confronted with difficult problems regarding insurance and inheritance after his death. Consequently, they renounced their vow to avoid marriage and wed on January 20, 1938.²⁸

Field and Wood both had torn marriages asunder—Field through migratory divorce and Wood through separation—in order to establish an experimental relationship together. Although Wood died in 1944, Field lived until 1972, long enough to realize that the options she and Charles had selected during the early 1900s became increasingly popular as the twentieth-century wore on. CHS

See notes beginning on page 308.

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Washoe County
Courthouse,
Reno, Nevada,
photographed in
the early 1900s.
Courtesy Huntington
Library.



Japanese Immigrant Nationalism: The Issei and the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1941

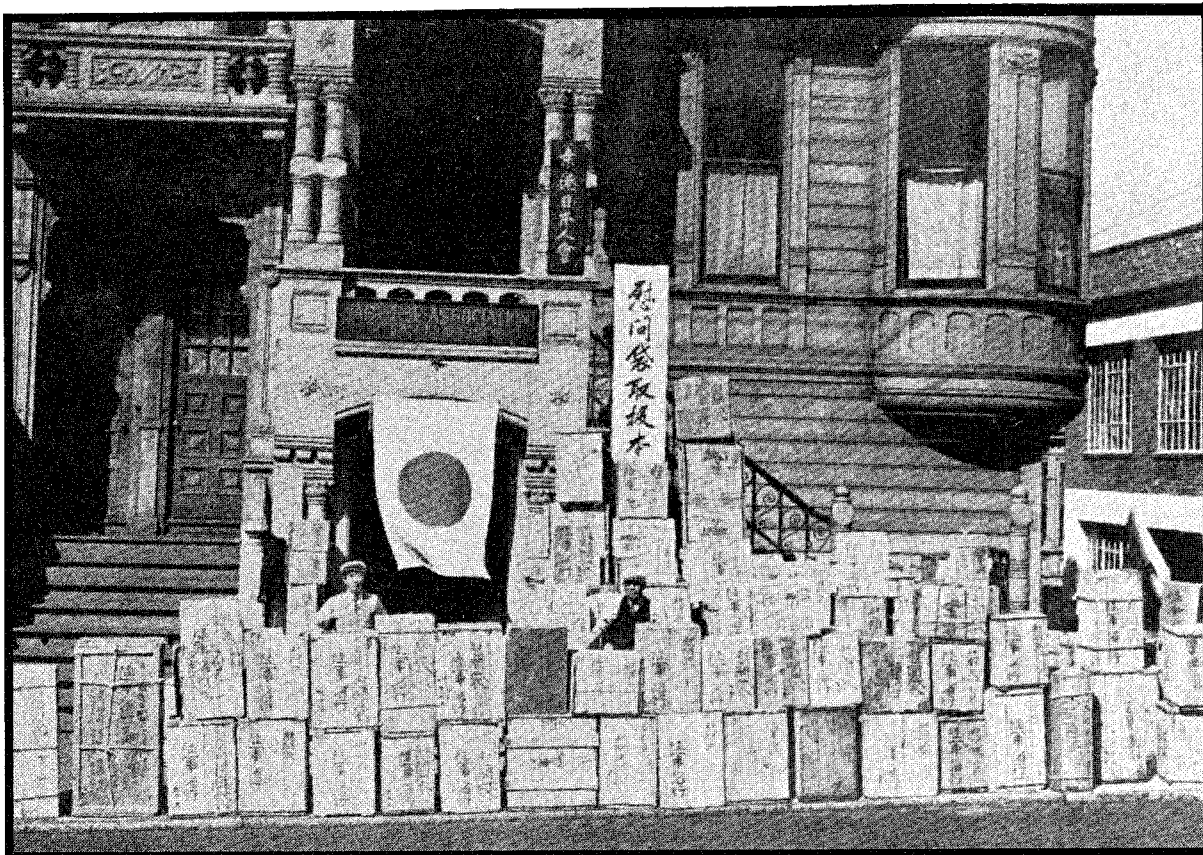
by Yuji Ichioka

As an interlude between the Japanese exclusion movement period and the dramatic wartime internment of Japanese Americans, the years between 1924 and 1941 comprise an unexplored period in Japanese American history. The numerous studies of the exclusion movement period always end with the termination of Japanese immigration in 1924. The equally numerous studies of the wartime internment of Japanese Americans take one of two approaches to the decade of the thirties. They either blithely ignore the decade altogether, or they merely consider it an incidental backdrop to the central drama of mass internment. Consequently, the decade of the thirties remains largely an unresearched period in Japanese American history.¹ One wholly neglected topic is the nationalism of the Issei, which fully crystallized after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, and continued unabated until 1941. This nationalism involved an intense patriotic identification on the part of the Issei generation with their homeland and its cause in China and was manifested in various activities to lend moral, financial, and material support to Japan's war effort.

The undeclared war between Japan and China broke out with the Marco Polo Bridge Incident of July 7, 1937. During the ensuing crisis, Issei leaders in every Japanese community in the western United States established emergency committees, the majority of them in the fall when it became apparent that no quick resolution was imminent. Set up usually within preexisting Japanese Associations, these committees served four purposes.² First, they disseminated pro-Japanese propaganda to counteract local publicity that blamed Japan for the war. Toward this end, the committees issued political pamphlets in English, sponsored public lectures, and promoted special radio programs. Second, they

collected money and goods to send to Japan. Funds were raised for national defense and war relief; money for the latter, called *imonkin* and *juppeikin*, was earmarked for needy families who had soldiers engaged in combat or killed in action. Third, the committees sent gift packets to the Japanese soldiers on the China front. Called *imonbukuro*, these packets were filled with nonperishable items such as tobacco, razors, dried fruits, soapbars, and candy. Talismans [*sennin-bari*] were often forwarded, too. Literally meaning "a thousand stitches," these talismans, it was believed, protected Japanese soldiers from the Chinese enemy because each stitch, in theory, had been knitted by one thousand maidens. Fourth and last, the committees sponsored periodic patriotic meetings to commemorate certain events in the war, such as the fall of Canton and Hankow in 1938.

The Japanese Associations and Japanese Chambers of Commerce of San Francisco, Seattle, Portland, Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York City assumed the task of issuing political pamphlets. In San Francisco, for example, the Japanese Association of America and the Japanese Chamber of Commerce had published eleven separate pamphlets by December 1937. Some 50-60,000 copies of these pamphlets were printed under such titles as "Facts of the China Trouble," and "What Is The Fighting About?" Based on Japanese Foreign Ministry material, they were underwritten by the San Francisco Japanese consulate and distributed as widely as possible by the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and the Japanese Association of America and its affiliated local associations. In Portland the Japanese Association of Oregon printed and distributed 20,000 copies of a pamphlet entitled "The North China Incident, 1937," and in Seattle the Japanese Association of North America and the



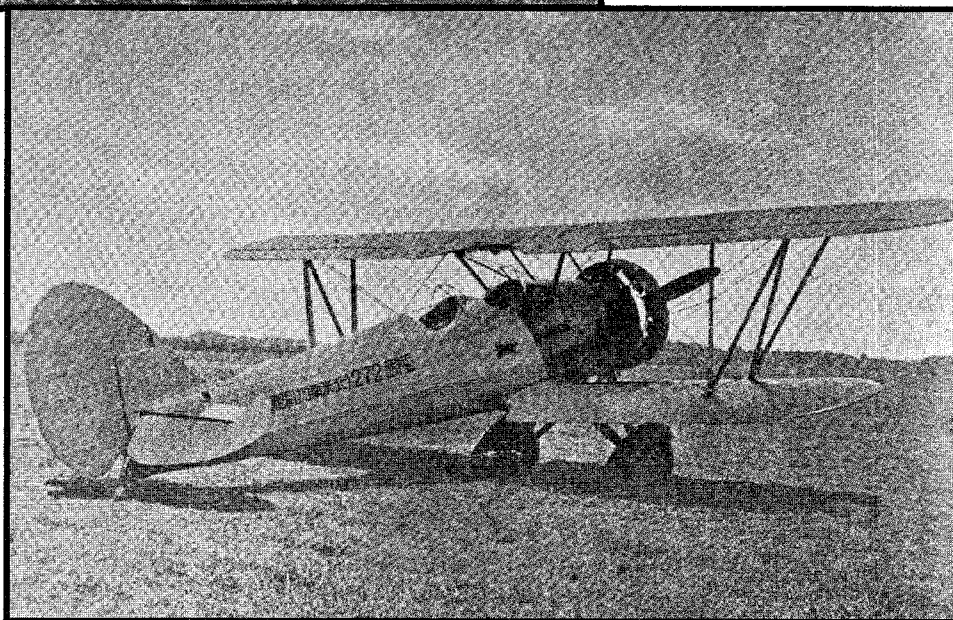
Like immigrants from other nations, Japanese immigrant organizations gave sympathy and aid to their mother country in times of trial. During the Sino-Japanese War, from 1937 to United States entry into World War II in December 1941, immigrants from Japan (Issei) on the Pacific Coast collected funds and relief supplies for the soldiers of their homeland. In this photograph, boxes of *imonbukuro* (gift packets) gathered by the Japanese Association of San Francisco lie on the sidewalk awaiting shipment to the Japanese Army Ministry. Source: *Zaibei Nihonjinkai*, *Zaibei Nihonjin Shi* (San Francisco, 1940), photo reproduction courtesy Instructional Media Center, CSU Hayward.

Japanese Chamber of Commerce jointly printed and distributed 20,000 copies of two pamphlets entitled "The Undeclared Sino-Japanese War" and "The Oriental Conflagration; Who Struck the Spark that Started It?" In Los Angeles the Japanese Chamber of Commerce printed and distributed 20,000 copies of a pamphlet entitled "Japan's Position in the Shanghai and North China Hostilities." And in Chicago and New York City similar pamphlets were issued by the corresponding Japanese American organizations. All the pamphlets presented the Japanese government's justifications for military action undertaken in China.³

Two rural Japanese communities typified the patriotic activities that ordinary Issei engaged in. The first case was Yakima, Washington, where the com-

munity was located on an American Indian reservation. In August 1937 Issei leaders of this farming settlement organized an emergency committee within the local Japanese Association. Between that date and March 1939, the committee raised \$5,775 for national defense, a sizable sum of money for a small community that in 1940 had a population of only 814. During the same period, the committee collected 1,714 *imonbukuro* and sent them to the Japanese soldiers on the China front via the Japanese consulate in Seattle.⁴

The second community was in Walnut Grove, California, in the Sacramento River delta region. In this small farming settlement, an emergency committee was also organized by the local Japanese Association to collect national defense funds and



In 1937 and 1938, the Japanese Association of Pasadena led a group of Issei community organizations that raised and donated funds to the Japanese military for the purchase of two aircraft: a naval fighter bomber (above) and an army liaison aircraft (below).
Source: Yūsa Hanboku, Hanboku Zenshū (Santa Maria, 1940), photo reproduction courtesy Instructional Media Center, CSU Hayward.

imonbukuro, and to distribute locally the pamphlets published in San Francisco and other cities. In addition to these activities, the committee held a "war victory celebration" on November 3, 1938, to commemorate the fall of Canton and Hankow. The entire Japanese immigrant community of five hundred people attended the program, which included the latest war-related newsreels from Japan. The coincidence of the celebration with the Meiji Emperor's birthday infused it with added nationalistic meaning. This event was followed by another commemoration on February 11, 1939, a day on which the Issei celebrated *Kigensetsu*, a Japanese national holiday that the Japanese of Walnut Grove had never before observed. February 11, 660 B.C., was the date on which Jimmu Tennō, the first Japanese Emperor, was said to have ascended the Imperial Throne, marking the beginning of the Imperial line that Shinto nationalists claimed had been unbroken through the ages. Also in February 1939, the Walnut Grove Japanese community founded a local branch of the *Heimushakai*, an organization comprised of men who still were of draftable age. Since such men enjoyed draft deferments by virtue of living abroad, they established the local *Heimushakai* branch to remit money in lieu of military service. Local members pledged to donate fifty cents per month and also solicited additional donations from nonmembers.⁵

What transpired in Yakima and Walnut Grove was repeated in every settlement up and down the Pacific Coast and in the adjacent western states. As of June 1939, the Japanese of Seattle had donated 59,152 yen for national defense, 23,700 yen for medical supplies, and 12,600 yen for war relief (in the late thirties, the yen-dollar exchange rate fluctuated between four to five yen per dollar). They also donated 5,184 *imonbukuro* and an unspecified amount of war relief goods [*imonhin*]. And, as their Walnut Grove compatriots did, they observed the fall of Canton and Hankow with a victory celebration and sent congratulatory telegrams to the Japanese Army and Navy Ministries.⁶ The Japanese of Tacoma forwarded 5,326 *imonbukuro* between August 1937 and February 1939. On October 10, 1937, they donated \$3,346 for national defense; and the local Japanese Association in August 1938 urged all local residents to contribute a dollar or more per person every month for the duration of the war. Three months later the association contributed \$938 for war relief.⁷

The *Heimushakai*, originally organized in San Francisco in August 1937, had branches in numerous Japanese settlements in California, Nevada, Idaho, and Utah, and as of June 1940 it claimed to

have raised over 500,000 yen.⁸ In San Francisco the Issei commemorated the first anniversary of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident with a memorial rite. Fifteen hundred persons assembled at the Scottish Rite Hall to honor the Japanese war dead on July 7, 1938. San Francisco Consul General Shiozaki Kanzō delivered an address and proposed that every Issei contribute a dollar to families in Japan who had lost loved ones in combat.⁹

In southern California Issei patriotism was especially intense. In September 1937 an emergency committee was organized by the Central Japanese Association of Southern California, the Japanese Association of Los Angeles, and the Japanese Chamber of Commerce. On September 29 this committee forwarded 255,660 yen to the Japanese military, divided equally between the Army and the Navy.¹⁰ In October, another special committee, spearheaded by the Japanese Association of Pasadena and composed of various community organizations, was formed to raise funds specifically for two military aircraft. In January 1938 this second committee donated \$8,775 to the Army for a liaison aircraft; seven months later it donated \$15,724 to the Navy for a carrier-based fighter bomber.¹¹ In April 1938 a Los Angeles branch of the Women's Patriotic Society of Japan [*Nihon Aikoku Fujinkai Rafu Shibu*] was established by prominent Issei women.¹²

By July 1938 Los Angeles Consul Ota Ichirō felt that Japanese immigrant nationalism had gotten out of control. In his opinion, groups were competing wildly with each other to see who could raise the most money. They solicited openly in public and publicized the results of fund-raising drives in the local Japanese-language newspapers. Ota singled out the *Heimushakai* and *Hōkokukai*, yet another patriotic body, for using strong-arm tactics to coerce people into making donations. Engaging so conspicuously in pro-Japanese activities, he feared, would alarm the American public. Mindful of possible adverse repercussions, Ota warned the Issei leaders of the dangers involved, but much to his dismay zealous individuals and groups refused to heed his admonition.¹³

Thus Ota advised the Foreign Ministry to take measures to curb or dampen the "excessive patriotic ardor" of the Issei.¹⁴ In a revealing report dated July 10, he recommended to Tokyo that the Prime Minister or the Foreign Minister should issue a statement to the effect that, while it was laudable for overseas Japanese to contribute money to Japan's war efforts, it was by far better for them to use such funds to educate the citizens of the country in which they resided about Japan's policy. If such a statement were aired over shortwave radio

or released through the Domei News Agency, Ota believed that it would have a salutary effect. He assumed that the Issei who had refused to heed his words would abide by the words of the Prime Minister or the Foreign Minister. Also reporting that overzealous patriotism had emerged in his jurisdiction, Consul Shiozaki endorsed Ota's recommendation.¹⁵ Inasmuch as Shiozaki's endorsement came right after he had proposed that every Issei donate a dollar to families who had lost men in combat, this was somewhat ironic, an irony that did not escape the attention of later critics of Consul Shiozaki and Consul Ota. Ota did not receive an instant reply from Tokyo. Several weeks later he reiterated his recommendation because of continuing patriotic excesses in southern California.¹⁶

Ultimately, the Foreign Ministry released a statement on August 9, 1938, through the Domei News Agency.¹⁷ Instead of being announced by the Prime Minister or Foreign Minister, it was issued in the name of Kawai Tatsuo, the Information Section Chief of the Foreign Ministry. Kawai began by cautioning overseas Japanese about excessive and competitive fund-raising campaigns. Raising national defense and war relief funds was commendable, he pointed out, but it was not the only way of being patriotic. Overseas Japanese were in a position to educate foreigners about the Japanese side of the Sino-Japanese conflict. The Japanese in America in particular were situated to inform Americans about the war. If the Issei dedicated themselves to this educational task, Kawai assured them, they would be acting as "true patriots." Indeed, they would be contributing towards the preservation of good Japanese-American relations, which was more important than the remission of national defense and war relief funds. Interestingly enough, the Foreign Ministry released Kawai's opinions as "informal remarks," rather than as an official statement of policy. In all likelihood, Tokyo adopted this low-keyed, tactful approach in order to avoid unduly antagonizing overseas Japanese.

As soon as the statement was released, many immigrants assailed it as an affront to overseas Japanese. The *Nichibei Shimbun* of San Francisco ran a series of protest letters from its readers. One reader stated that every Issei who had read the statement "felt a sense of indignation," and urged everyone to "disregard" Kawai's advice.¹⁸ A noted Issei poet, Yūsa Keizō of Guadalupe, pointed out with barbed sarcasm the irony of Kawai's statement in the light of Consul Shiozaki's appeal to the Issei to contribute war relief funds.¹⁹

The harshest and most vocal critic was Fujii Sei, publisher and editor of the *Kashū Mainichi* of Los

Angeles. Enraged by the statement, Fujii minced no words in lashing out at it, and at Consul Ota. Cantankerous and opinionated by nature, he had championed the patriotic activities of the Issei from the very beginning, and he had been critical of Consul Hori Kōichi, Ota's predecessor, who, in his opinion, had given only lukewarm support to the drive to collect funds for military aircraft.²⁰ Fujii correctly surmised that Ota had filed a report to Tokyo recommending that the statement be issued. In bitter diatribes in his daily column, Fujii heaped abuse on Ota, calling him an arrogant, ignorant, and insensitive elitist who was incapable of fathoming the motives of the common Issei. And he sternly rebuked Ota for having insulted them in an unforgivable manner.²¹ According to Fujii, the Issei donated money and collected *imonbukuro* because of their sincere generosity, not for selfish motives. The Issei were profoundly grateful for the sacrifices the Japanese soldiers were making on the battlefield. They truly grieved for the families who had lost loved ones, and they possessed an undying love of Japan, their mother country. Fujii was fond of referring to his newspaper as "a country newspaper edited by a country editor for country folk." His subscribers, who lived for the most part in small farming communities, doubtless nodded approvingly at this scathing indictment of Consul Ota, for Fujii appealed to the sensibilities of ordinary Issei.

There were many cultural expressions of Issei nationalism. The Issei regularly expressed their patriotic sentiments through poetry. Every Japanese immigrant daily newspaper published patriotic poems. The *Rafu Shimpō* of Los Angeles, for example, sponsored annual poetry contests on war-related themes and published the results in its special New Year's edition. In January 1938 the theme was the so-called "China Incident"; in January 1939 it was "War Victory" to commemorate the fall of Canton and Hankow; and in January 1940 it was the coming "New Order" in Asia.

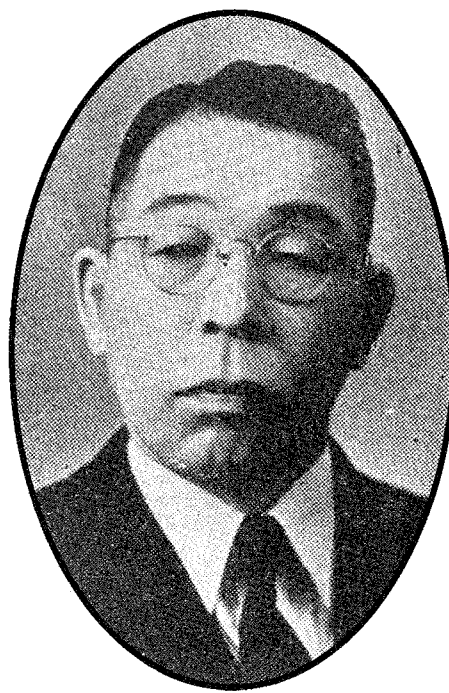
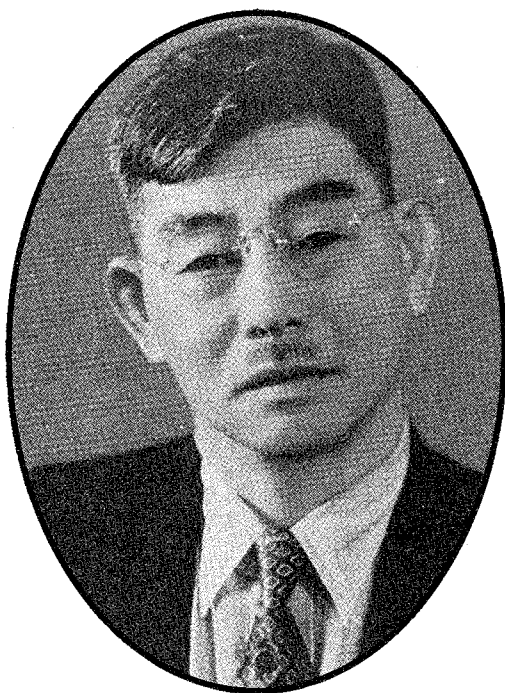
Simple verses described Issei patriotic activities:

Sennin-bari
Sewn to deflect
Chinese bullets

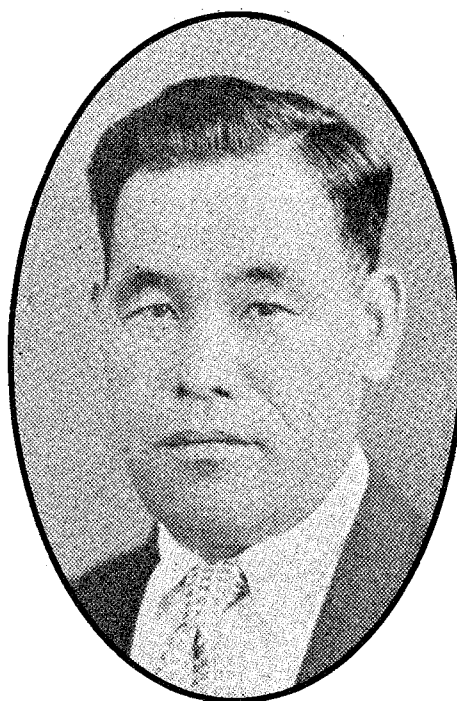
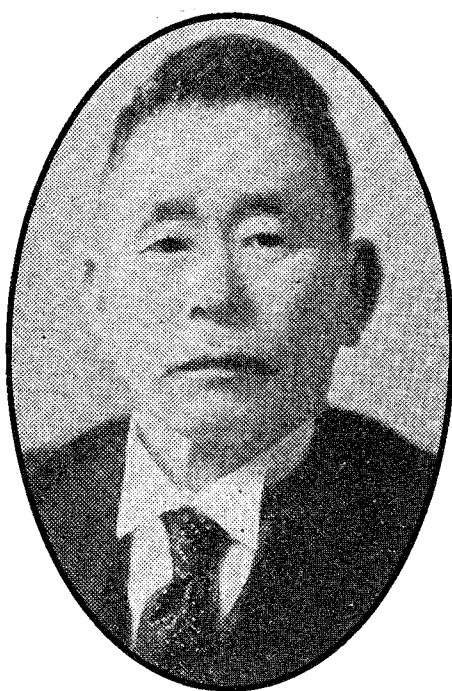
Overtime
Homefront contributions
Increase even more

and,

Imonhin
My younger sister
Includes talismans



Numerous leaders of California Issei communities organized projects to assist Japan in its war with China between 1937 and 1941. Among them were Fujii Sei, influential publisher of *Kashū Mainichi*, Los Angeles (above left); Nishimura Sueji, head of the Pasadena Japanese Association, who spearheaded the drive to collect funds for purchasing military aircraft for Japan (above right); Minami Yaemon, successful farmer from Guadalupe and senior southern California delegate to the first conference of overseas Japanese, Tokyo, 1940 (below left); and Iseda Gōsuke of Riverside, an *imonshi* who delivered relief funds in Japan and then went to China for a first-hand look at the war front (below right). Source: *Fujioka Shirō*. *Beikoku Chūō Nihonjinkai Shi* (Los Angeles, 1940), photo reproduction Instructional Media Center, CSU Hayward.



Other poems expressed Japanese patriotism from an immigrant perspective:

War victory
Celebration in an alien land
Swelling with pride

War Victory
Hands outstretched
Towards the motherland

and,

The Flag of the Rising Sun
Bowling in silence
An old immigrant

And still others expressed keen interest in the progress of the Sino-Japanese War:

The China Incident
Ears Upright
The radio news

and,

War Victory
Radio news
Until daybreak.²²

The official Japanese-government "Patriotic March Song" [*Aikoku Kōshin-kyoku*] became an overnight hit within Japanese immigrant society in early 1938. Soon after, another march, composed and written by Nozaki Kiyoshi of Arroyo Grande, became the unofficial patriotic march of the Issei in southern California. This second tune was an American version of the government's patriotic march in Japan. The Issei sang both at patriotic gatherings.²³

Many Issei endeavored to instill Japanese patriotism in their children through cultural institutions. In the late thirties, branches of the Martial Virtue Society [*Butokukai*] proliferated within Japanese immigrant society. Under the leadership of Nakamura Tōkichi, a rabid nationalist, the aim of the society was to inculcate the "Japanese spirit" in Nisei youngsters through the teaching of Japanese swordsmanship. The society even established a special institute in Tokyo in 1938 to accommodate Nisei students. Called the North American Institute of the Imperial Way [*Hokubei Kōdō Gakuin*], the school listed Tōyama Mitsuru, a notorious right wing nationalist, as an advisor.²⁴ Japanese language school teachers promoted Japanese patriotism among Nisei youngsters by teaching them to compose essays in Japanese with themes relating to the Sino-Japanese War. Many teachers also taught their pupils to write letters of appreciation to Japanese soldiers and forwarded them to the China front. A typical letter read:

December 15, 1937

To Japanese soldiers in China:

The year is fast coming to an end. It's probably cold over there. It's hard for us who live in sunny Southern California to imagine your hardships.

Everyday we learn of your heroic deeds from the newspaper and radio. I believe that people throughout the world will soon acknowledge your efforts in fighting for justice with the Japanese spirit and *Bushido*. I hope that day will come quickly.

According to the latest news, we learn that the Imperial Army is launching its final attack on Nanking. We get excited everytime we see the morning newspaper. You will reach your goal soon. The final victory is the most important. I pray that you will be victorious as soon as possible and that you will work towards restoring peace in the Orient.

As we are about to usher in the New Year in this time of crisis, I would like to express our gratitude for your accomplishments thus far and to extend our encouragement for the future. I await the day when you will return home as victorious heroes.

Nakamura Toshiko²⁵

Various institutions and individuals shaped Issei opinion regarding the Sino-Japanese War. The Japanese immigrant press was by far the most influential. All daily newspapers relied heavily on Domei News Agency dispatches from Japan for day-to-day coverage of the war. The agency was established in 1936 with a monopoly over the release of news abroad.²⁶ Ostensibly an independent agency, it was in fact under the control of the Japanese government, so that its coverage of the Sino-Japanese War was always biased in favor of the Japanese side. For the average Issei, the daily Domei dispatches reprinted in the immigrant press were the main source of information about the war. In addition, each newspaper had its own correspondent in Tokyo who reported on the war in supplemental articles aimed at Issei readers. In every case these correspondents were men who had worked for the immigrant press at one time and were thus familiar to the Issei. For example, the *Rafu Shimpō* of Los Angeles had Mutō Shōgo, the *Nichibei Shimbun* of San Francisco had Sagitani Seiichi, and the *Kashū Mainichi* of Los Angeles had Komatsu Yoshimoto.

Three newspapers had their own war correspondents who also molded opinion. The *Shin Sekai Asahi*, published in San Francisco, had three men at different times. The most prolific was Murayama Tamotsu, who was a Domei reporter at the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. In the fall of 1937 he went to the China front, from which he filed dispatches to the *Shin Sekai Asahi*. Murayama unfailingly cited the heroism of Japanese soldiers in

reporting on the fighting. He also conveyed the gratitude the soldiers expressed at receiving *imon-bukuro* from overseas Japanese, striking undoubtedly responsive chords in the hearts of the Issei who sent them. After his China assignment, Murayama embarked on an extensive speaking tour of the Japanese communities on the Pacific Coast. In late 1937 and early 1938 he gave personal, first-hand accounts of the war before Issei and Nisei audiences. Murayama was no stranger to the Issei. He was a Kibei-Nisei. Born in Seattle in 1905, he had received his early education in Japan. Upon returning to the United States, he attended Lowell High School in San Francisco. During the early 1930s, he had been very active in the San Francisco chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), the principal organization of the Nisei generation. Thus, among the Issei, the credibility of Murayama's pro-Japan dispatches and speeches was enhanced considerably by his roots in Japanese immigrant society.²⁷

Ebina Kazuo and Suzuki Kamenosuke were the other two war correspondents for the *Shin Sekai Asahi*. Both followed Murayama to the China front towards the end of 1937. An Issei, Ebina had been a newspaperman in California for over twenty years. He contributed a regular column in the *Shin Sekai Asahi* in which his war reportage appeared.²⁸ Suzuki was the Tokyo-based correspondent of the *Shin Sekai Asahi*. Both men reported glowingly of the Japanese army in action. Like Murayama, Suzuki also came to the United States and spoke to Issei groups. Under the sponsorship of his newspaper, he presented fifty-nine talks during a two-month speaking tour.²⁹

The *Nichibei Shimbun* and the *Rafu Shimpō* had correspondent Kazumaro "Buddy" Uno. A Nisei, Uno was the only war correspondent who reported in English. He first went to the China front as a reporter for the *Shin Sekai Asahi* in the fall of 1937 and witnessed the fighting in and around Shanghai. It was on his second tour of the battlefield that he reported for the *Nichibei Shimbun* and the *Rafu Shimpō*, covering the siege of Hankow in late 1938. Uno was thoroughly taken in by the Japanese army. It seemed to him such an efficient and disciplined fighting force, with soldiers who embodied high samurai virtues. While extolling the Japanese, Uno denigrated the Chinese at every opportunity. The soldiers of the Chinese army, in his opinion, were "guilty of unimaginable brutality and cruelty," and the Nationalist government was incapable of establishing order and governing China.³⁰ After each stint as a war correspondent, Uno gave pro-Japan talks before both Issei and Nisei groups. He even

debated pro-China speakers in public forums before non-immigrant audiences.

Understandably, Uno drew high praise from Issei leaders. Ever since the outbreak of hostilities, the adult Nisei on the whole had not stood up in defense of Japan. They either were simply indifferent or adopted a neutral stance. Or they were critical of Japan. The Issei expected the Nisei to act as a "bridge of understanding" between Japan and the United States and to present Japan's side in the Sino-Japanese conflict to the American public. Yet the Nisei, with a few notable exceptions, did not fulfill this expectation. In 1938, Yamashita Sōen, Tokyo-based correspondent of the *Nippu Jiji* of Honolulu, wrote a book on the Nisei in which he asserted that Issei leaders were "shocked" at the failure of the Nisei to champion Japan's case.³¹ Similarly, Azumi Suimei, editor of the popular monthly *Nippon to Amerika*, lamented the Nisei's failure, which he attributed to "a lack of knowledge" of the historical circumstances surrounding the conflict.³² Recognizing the "ignorance" of the Nisei, the *Nichibei Shimbun* and *Shin Sekai Asahi* sponsored a joint essay contest in December 1937 in order to encourage the Nisei to study "the facts." The chosen theme was "How I, as a Nisei, can justify Japan's case in China."³³ In September 1937 Fujii Sei started his own English column, "Uncle Fujii Speaks," in the *Kashū Mainichi* expressly for the purpose of educating Nisei youngsters about the Sino-Japanese conflict.³⁴ To an Issei leader like Abe Toyoji, publisher of the *Shin Sekai Asahi*, therefore, it was especially gratifying to see and hear a Nisei like Uno defend Japan before his fellow Nisei and the American public.³⁵

Unofficial spokesmen sent by the Foreign Ministry to talk to the Issei about the Sino-Japanese War also influenced opinion. Shishimoto Hachirō was handpicked to take a speaking tour of Japanese settlements in the western United States. Having been a newspaperman with the immigrant press from 1915 to 1931, he was a well-known figure within Japanese immigrant society. In 1932 he had returned to Japan. In late 1937 the Foreign Ministry first dispatched Shishimoto to north China to enable him to prepare for his tour. There he observed the fighting at first hand and obtained fresh information. He arrived in the United States at the beginning of 1938, and he spoke in almost every Japanese community, including rural ones like Walnut Grove. The Foreign Ministry selected Shishimoto as an unofficial spokesman precisely because he had connections with Japanese immigrant society. His old ties, it was assumed,

would accrue to his effectiveness among the Issei.³⁶

Henry Toshirō Shimanouchi was another unofficial spokesman for the Japanese government. He undertook a nationwide lecture tour of the United States on behalf of the Foreign Ministry from November 1937 to April 1938. He also visited north China in preparation for his tour. Publicly, he was an official representative of the Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, a semi-official government body. His mission, broadly speaking, was to stem the tide of adverse publicity Japan was suffering at the hands of the American press. Shimanouchi had an unusual background.³⁷ Born in 1909 in Japan, he was reared in California from the age of one, growing up in the Japanese settlements of San Francisco, Oakland, Livingston, Fresno, and Los Angeles. His father was a respected Issei leader who was associated with the *Nichibei Shimbun* for many years.³⁸ Educated in American public schools, Shimanouchi was a graduate of Occidental College. By upbringing and schooling, therefore, he was closer to being a Nisei rather than an Issei. In 1933 he returned to Japan, where he found employment as a reporter for an English newspaper, and in 1936 he joined the staff of the *Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai*, an organization that disseminated knowledge of Japan in western languages. During his American lecture tour, Shimanouchi addressed Issei and Nisei groups throughout the Pacific Coast. Issei leaders took great pride in him, for he had risen from the ranks of the Nisei. In March 1938 he spoke in Los Angeles at a meeting of the Far East Research Institute, a Nisei group formed to study the Sino-Japanese conflict. A polished bilingual speaker, Shimanouchi's defense of Japan was so masterful in the opinion of Fujii Sei that Fujii had nothing but the highest words of praise for him.³⁹ As a staunch defender of Japan to the Issei, Shimanouchi's credibility was also enhanced by his own background in Japanese immigrant society.

Sannomiya Miya and Nakamura Kaju were two additional persons sent by the Foreign Ministry. Sannomiya was a Nisei. Born in 1902 in Hawaii, she was raised in California. Her father was a longtime farmer in the Stockton area. Educated in American public schools, she was a graduate of the University of California. In 1926 she toured Japan with the second Nisei excursion group sponsored by the *Nichibei Shimbun*. That trip stimulated her lifelong interest in Japan. In 1933 she went to Japan to master the Japanese language. When the *Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai* was organized in 1934, she joined the staff as an English secretary.⁴⁰ She arrived in California with Shimanouchi in November 1937. Frequently sharing the same platform with

him, she talked principally about cultural affairs rather than politics. Nakamura, a former member of the Japanese Diet, was head of a private institute in Tokyo that offered special classes on Japan and the Far East to foreign students. Since he recruited Nisei to enroll in his school, the Issei were acquainted with him. Nakamura arrived with Shishimoto Hachirō in January 1938. He also presented pro-Japan talks before Issei groups during his own lecture itinerary.⁴¹

People who were not affiliated with the Japanese government also shaped Issei opinion. Many persons representing private groups paraded across the Pacific to address immigrant audiences. The most influential had personal links to the Issei. Frank Takizō Matsumoto was among them. In 1937 he happened to be on the East Coast studying at the Harvard Business School. Like Shimanouchi, Matsumoto was born in Japan, but raised in California. In 1921 he had returned to Japan and had



Issei women also contributed to the relief effort for the mother country during the Sino-Japanese War. One of the leaders was Mrs. Sachiko Furusawa of Los Angeles, an *imonshi* who delivered relief money and supplies to Japan on behalf of the Federated Japanese Women's Associations of Southern California. Source: Kazahaya Katsu'ichi, Nan Kashū Okayama Kenjin Hattenshi (Los Angeles: Nan Kashū Okayama Kenjin Hattenshi Hensanjo, 1955).

become a professor at Meiji University. During the summer of 1937, Matsumoto, on his own initiative, defended Japan before the Issei and took the Nisei to task for failing to take up Japan's cause.⁴² Yamada Waka arrived in October 1937 as a member of a private delegation, and appealed specifically to Issei women. She represented *Shufu no Tomo*, a popular women's monthly, which was the most widely read Japanese magazine among Issei women. Yamada's reputation as a writer-critic rested on her regular contributions to this monthly. She herself had very old ties to Japanese immigrant society. In 1902 she had been a prostitute in Seattle; later she lived in the San Francisco Japanese settlement. Most Issei women probably were unaware of her past until Oka Shigeki, an Issei newspaperman, publicized it in his San Francisco weekly after her arrival.⁴³ With backing from Mrs. Abiko Kyūtarō, publisher of the *Nichibei Shimbun*, Yamada toured Japanese communities and appealed to the patriotic sentiments of ordinary Issei women.⁴⁴

Kiyosawa Retsu, a leading political commentator, made his own personal appeal. He had been a newspaperman with the immigrant press in his youth. He arrived in San Francisco in October 1937. Learning of the pro-China activities of Chinese-Americans, Kiyosawa challenged the Nisei to defend Japan as a means of combatting the anti-Japanese propaganda spread by their Chinese counterparts. Issei leaders hailed Kiyosawa's appeal to the Nisei.⁴⁵ All of these private individuals, together with many others who had no ties to the Issei, also helped to foster pro-Japan sentiments and attitudes among the Issei.

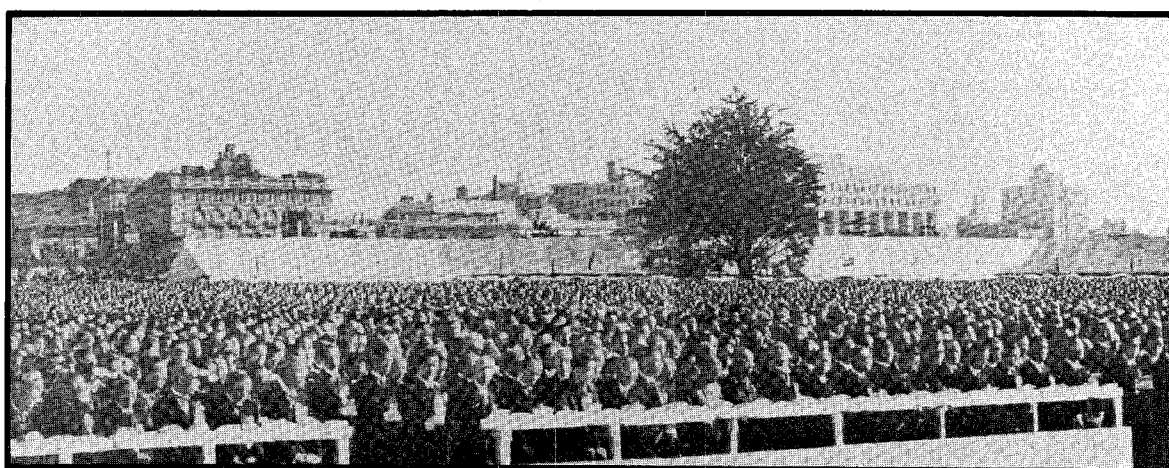
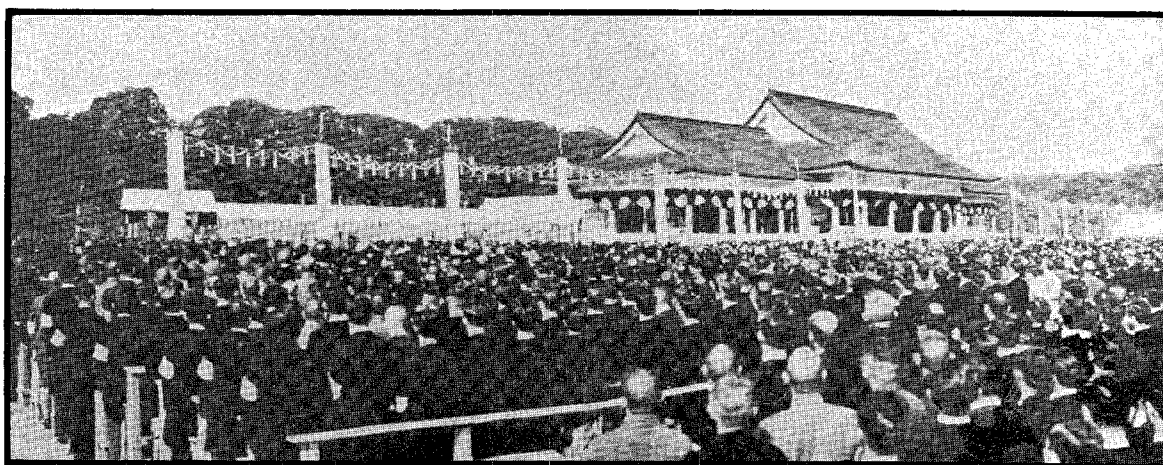
Finally, there was a small group of influential Issei. Many large communities, at one time or another, sent representatives to the China front. These Issei, known as *imonshi*, delivered *imonbukuro* and national defense and war relief funds to Japanese military authorities. Stopping off normally in Japan, Korea, and Manchuria en route to north China, they toured the battlefield to console Japanese troops, visited the wounded in military hospitals, and participated in special ceremonies. A few of those Issei who went to China in 1938 as *imonshi* were: Miyazawa Yasutarō of Seattle, Yamazaki Masato of Tacoma, Iseda Gōsuke of Riverside, Nishimura Sueji of Pasadena, Furusawa Sachiko of Los Angeles, and Fukuda Yoshiaki of San Francisco. Nishimura represented the southern California committee that raised funds for military aircraft. He attended the ceremony held at Haneda Airfield in October 1938, at which a naval fighter bomber, the second aircraft paid for by the committee, was christened as the "Japanese Patriots of Southern

California." Mrs. Furusawa represented the Federated Japanese Women's Associations of Southern California.

Imonshi were significant for a simple reason. They were all Issei leaders who returned to give eyewitness accounts of the war to their compatriots. After a grand tour of five and a half months, Fukuda Yoshiaki, for example, addressed Issei audiences throughout California in 1939. Fukuda was the Bishop of the Konkōkyō Church, a Shinto sect. As a part of his presentation, he reported that the troops at the front looked forward to receiving *imonbukuro* almost as much as letters from home, generating immense satisfaction among the Issei who had taken the trouble to collect and forward them.⁴⁶

Shortwave radio broadcasts from Japan also stimulated Issei patriotism to some degree. The Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK Radio), a Japanese government-controlled enterprise, began overseas transmission in June 1935. Broadcasts to the Pacific Coast initially consisted of daily one-hour programs with two five-minute news spots, one in Japanese and one in English.⁴⁷ After the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, the daily program was increased by half an hour, and in August 1938 a special weekly "Nisei Hour," mostly in English, was added. NHK shortwave radio programs provided the Issei with another source of Japanese-government-controlled news about the Sino-Japanese War. Yet the effectiveness of the broadcasts was limited. Most Issei did not have shortwave radio receivers. In addition, reception was not always clear. Static periodically interfered so much that programs on many days were all but unintelligible or inaudible. Thus NHK Radio influenced only those Issei who had access to receivers and only on those days reception was clear.

Issei patriotism reached its zenith at the first conference of overseas Japanese, sponsored in Tokyo by the Japanese government in November 1940. Delegates from Manchuria, Southeast Asia, the Americas, and elsewhere met together for the first time; some came from as far as Brazil and Argentina. Nearly every Japanese settlement in the United States was represented. The American delegation was composed of sixty-two delegates chosen by local Japanese consulates. Tsukamoto Matsunosuke of San Francisco, a venerable eighty-three year-old pioneer who had lived in the United States since 1887, headed the delegation. Minami Yaemon, a successful Guadalupe farmer, was the senior delegate from southern California. Over four hundred unofficial delegates from the United



Among the attendees at the first conference of overseas Japanese, sponsored by the Japanese government in Tokyo during November 1940, were sixty-two official delegates representing nearly every Japanese immigrant settlement in the United States, accompanied by more than four hundred unofficial visitors from among the American Issei. *Source: Kazahaya Katsu'ichi, Nan Kashū Okayama Kenjin Hattenshi (Los Angeles: Nan Kashū Okayama Kenjin Hattenshi Hensanjo, 1955). Photo reproduction courtesy Instructional Media Center, CSU Hayward.*

States, many of whom were members of special tour groups organized to take in the conference, augmented the American delegation. The conference had four basic purposes: to formalize relations between overseas and domestic organizations; to study the educational problems of overseas Japanese children; to learn about conditions abroad from overseas Japanese; and to introduce conditions in Japan to overseas Japanese and through them to publicize those conditions abroad.⁴⁸

Two factors gave the conference an ultra-nationalistic character. First, it was convened in conjunc-

tion with the observance of the so-called birth of Japan. The first Emperor Jimmu Tennō, according to Shinto ideologues, ascended the Imperial throne in 660 B.C., an event used to date the genesis not only of the Imperial line but the Japanese nation as well. Because 1940 marked the 2600th anniversary of that mythical event in antiquity, Shinto nationalism permeated the conference. Second, political chauvinism characterized the proceedings. Less than two months prior to the conference, Japan had entered the Tripartite Pact, by which Germany and Italy recognized Japan's right to establish a

new order in Asia. That order, as it was formulated by Japan, was embodied in the concept of a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, under which Japan was destined to rule Asia. Political slogans and speakers at the conference heralded the coming new era of Japanese expansionism abroad.

The Tokyo conference opened with a grand procession. The fifteen hundred official delegates marched to the first assembly site in Hibiya Park. As the oldest delegate, Tsukamoto occupied a place of honor at the very head of the procession. Behind him came Minami Kunitarō, another elderly Issei who hailed from Oakland, California. Every delegation marched behind these two men in an order that corresponded to the sequence of emigration from Japan. The American, including the Hawaiian, and Canadian contingents led the procession because Japanese immigrants had first immigrated to North America in the nineteenth century. The Issei delegates from North America were honored in this way as the forerunners of all those who later moved abroad, including the Japanese who colonized Manchuria in the 1930s. As such, the early Issei immigrants to North America were considered, symbolically-speaking, the harbingers of Japanese expansionism onto the Asian continent.

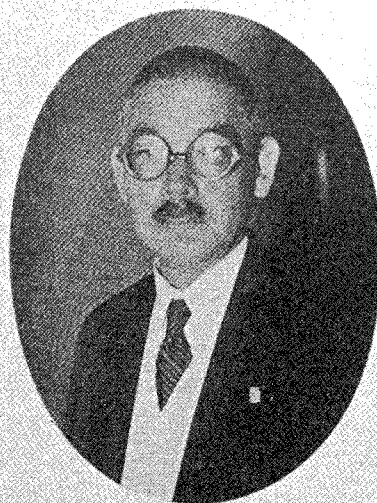
The conference featured sundry activities. Each delegation reported on the Japanese settlements in its country or territory. Government speakers delivered lectures on the political, economic, and social conditions in Japan and the state of military affairs in the Sino-Japanese War. Delegates engaged in roundtable discussions, inspected military installations, and enjoyed nightly social functions. The few Nisei who were in attendance participated in an open forum held for their benefit. Simultaneously, the Takashimaya Department Store hosted an exhibition of photographs and materials depicting the life of overseas Japanese. Among the display of printed matter were Japanese language newspapers, magazines, and books published abroad, and even essays written in Japanese by Nisei youngsters. The opening addresses, delivered by no less than Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yōsuke and other high government officials, were aired live over NHK Radio.

Concurrent with all of these activities in Japan, most Japanese communities in the United States held special commemorative programs. In southern California the Japanese Association of Los Angeles sponsored a day-long affair of political and cultural events, featuring Shinto rites in observance of the 2600th anniversary of the so-called birth of Japan.⁴⁹ Japanese-language school teachers taught Nisei pupils to write nationalistic essays in commemoration

of the anniversary.⁵⁰ In conjunction with the Tokyo conference, the *Heimushakai* contributed nearly \$15,000 for the erection of an ablution station within the Yasukuni Shrine, the national Shinto shrine in Tokyo, dedicated to Japanese soldiers killed in action since the first Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95.⁵¹

The Japanese government granted awards to each delegate from North America and to a few other Issei who did not attend the conference. Three men received highly coveted medals; everyone else received written commendations. These awards were presented by Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yōsuke, who had negotiated the Tripartite Pact. His presence at the conference had special meaning for the Issei in the United States. Matsuoka was not just another high government official to them. Quite the contrary, he was a man with whom the Issei personally identified. Matsuoka had lived in America from 1893 to 1902.⁵² As a young lad, thirteen years old, he had come to this country to obtain an education. He started his studies in Portland, Oregon, subsequently attended high school in Oakland, and eventually graduated from the University of Oregon in 1901. He always worked in order to support himself, often at menial jobs as a domestic servant and restaurant worker. In 1902 Matsuoka returned to Japan and launched his career with the Foreign Ministry. He attracted global attention in 1933 when, as the Japanese ambassador to the League of Nations, he withdrew Japan from the League to protest its policy of non-recognition of the puppet state of Manchukuo. En route to Tokyo from Geneva, Matsuoka stopped over in San Francisco and Portland and renewed his ties to the Issei.⁵³ The Issei in general felt an affinity to Matsuoka because of his background in early immigrant society. They identified him as a person who had shared their American experience, with all its attendant hardships, and who had risen from their own midst to the lofty position of Foreign Minister. This personal identification added extra significance to Matsuoka's presentation of the awards at the Tokyo conference, heightening the Issei recipients' sense of deep gratitude for the high honor accorded them.

The awards themselves had a symbolic meaning. For decades the Issei had felt rejected by their homeland, as reflected by their frequent use of the term *kimin* to refer to themselves. Meaning "an abandoned people," the expression implied resentment at the Japanese government for its refusal to come to their aid in times of need. During the anti-Japanese exclusion movement of the early twentieth century in the American West, for ex-



八紘一宇の精神

外務大臣 松岡 洋右

紀元二千六百年の祝典に際し、外務、拓務兩省主催の下に、在外同胞代表者會議を開催するに當りまして、遙々各位の御參集を得ましたことは、本大臣の欣快とする所であります。

各位は或は北米合衆國に、加奈陀に、布哇に、或は中南米及南洋方面に於て、永年在住活動せられ、各々其地在留同胞の先達として拮据精勵せられた結果、今日經濟的にも、將又社會的にも、多數在留同胞の指導的立場に居らるゝ方々と承り、其の努力を多とし、茲に深甚なる敬意を表する次第であります。

Emphasizing the importance Japan placed on the first conference of overseas Japanese, held in Tokyo, November 1940, the opening address was delivered by Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yōsuke, shown here along with the first page of the Japanese text of his address. Source: *Nihon Takushoku Kyōkai, Kōki Nisen Roppyakunen Zaigai Dōhō Daihyō wo Mukaete* (Tokyo, 1941), photo reproduction courtesy Instructional Media Center, CSU Hayward.

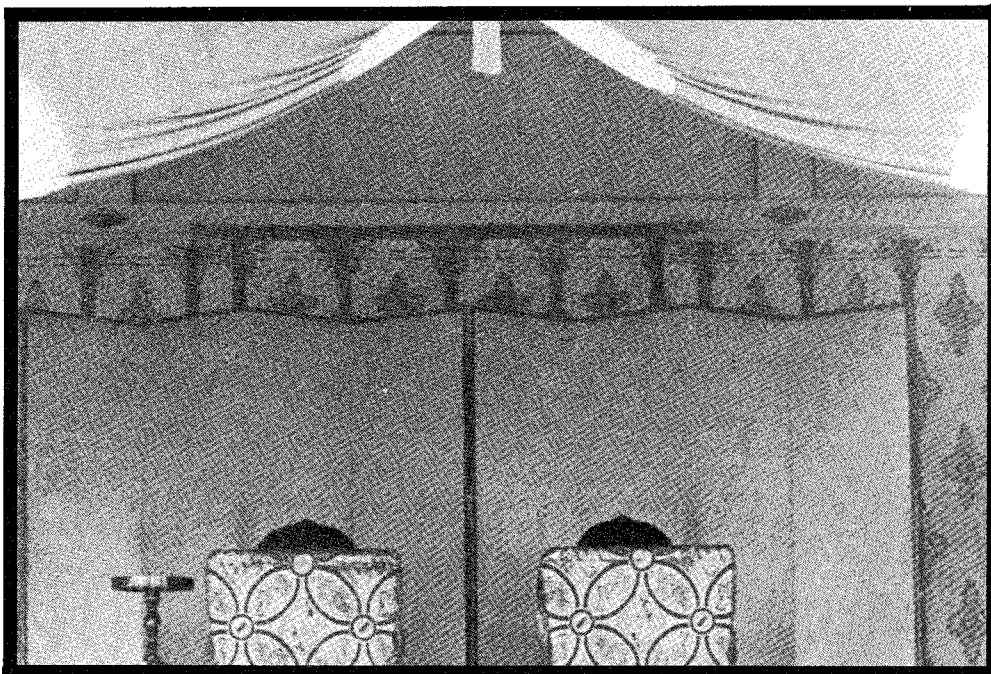
ample, Japanese diplomats had usually sacrificed the immigrants' welfare for the sake of what they perceived as diplomatic necessity. Prejudiced by class and bureaucratic bias, many officials and prominent persons in Japan, indeed, typically looked down with arrogant contempt upon their uprooted countrymen as an uneducated lot and blamed them for the hostility of white Americans. Such people believed that the Issei, by their own ignorant misconduct in America, had aroused the exclusion movement. The 1940 conference thus symbolized acceptance in Japan of the Issei, at least as it was interpreted by the immigrants. By convening the conference, the government had finally extended its hand of recognition to all overseas Japanese; and by bestowing awards upon the delegates from North America, it had acknowledged the specific contributions the Japanese immigrants in the United States and Canada had made since the nineteenth century. In sum, Issei patriotism peaked at this first conference of overseas Japanese, just one year before that fateful Sunday morning of December 7, 1941.

CONCLUSION

Issei nationalism had many grave consequences. First, it was one factor behind the so-called pre-

evacuation round-up of Issei leaders on and after December 7, 1941. During the thirties, American intelligence agencies had kept close surveillance over the Japanese immigrant community, but in an uncoordinated manner. This changed in the summer of 1939, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered Army and Navy intelligence to coordinate all surveillance activities under the direction of FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover.⁵⁴ American intelligence agencies classified almost every Issei leader who engaged in patriotic activities as a dangerous enemy alien, and the FBI arrested and detained these leaders on Pearl Harbor day and shortly after.

Second, Issei nationalism drove a deep wedge between the Issei generation and the Nisei leaders of the JACL. From 1939 on, FBI, Army, and Navy intelligence agents began to approach JACL officers about Issei leaders suspected of disloyalty. Some JACL leaders looked askance at the Issei's nationalistic identification with Japan. In the words of Togo Tanaka, unofficial historian of the JACL, "Out of the habit of defining loyalty, talking about loyalty, interpreting it for both the Japanese and Caucasian communities, a segment of J.A.C.L. leadership in 1939 and 1940 began to arrogate to itself the authority to judge and evaluate the loyalty of members of the Japanese community." Asked to



Although the Emperor and Empress of Japan did not attend the 1940 conference of overseas Japanese, seats were reserved for them to indicate their symbolic presence. Source: Kazahaya Katsu'ichi, Nan Kashū Okayama Kenjin Hattenshi (*Los Angeles: Nan Kashū Okayama Kenjin Hattenshi Hensanjo*, 1955). Photo reproduction courtesy Instructional Media Center, CSU Hayward.

cooperate in "guarding against sabotage and espionage" by federal agents, "the J.A.C.L. representatives for the most part . . . responded with a patriotic zeal exceeded only by their public expressions of American loyalty." "From the standpoint . . . within the Japanese community," according to Tanaka, such JACL leaders were perceived as "spies and stooges for the F.B.I."⁵⁵ Issei nationalism also drove a wedge between the Issei generation and the handful of Japanese American leftists and progressives, who unequivocally condemned Japanese military aggression in Asia. In short, Issei nationalism of the 1930s formed a crucial, but heretofore neglected, background to the wartime internment of Japanese Americans.

In one sense, Issei patriotism was not at all out of the ordinary in the American immigrant experience. It did not entail fifth column activities to subvert the socio-political fabric of American society, nor espionage or sabotage on behalf of the Japanese government. The Issei had rallied behind Japan in three previous wars: the first Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, and the First World War. In all three conflicts, they gave the same kind of moral, financial, and material backing to the homeland as they had after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. The difference was only a matter of degree. Every immigrant group in America, whether of Asian or European origin, has rendered patriotic assistance to its native land in times of crisis. In the twentieth century, Chinese immigrant aid to Sun Yat-sen played an important role in the toppling of the Ch'ing dynasty and establishment of the Republic of China. Korean immigrants engaged in nationalistic activities to promote an independent Korea free from Japanese colonial domination. Irish, Polish, and Jewish immigrants actively sought the establishment of independent homelands, too. During the First World War, German immigrants supported their mother country, while Greek immigrants joined their compatriots in struggle against Turkish Ottoman rule. In patriotically identifying with Japan, the Japanese were no different from these other immigrant groups.

In another sense, however, Issei patriotism had a unique basis in the Japanese immigrant experience in America.⁵⁶ By American naturalization law, the Issei were categorized as "aliens ineligible to citizenship." Denied the right of naturalization, unlike the great majority of other immigrant groups, they were unable to participate in the American political process. Numerous legal and social barriers, moreover, confined them to narrow niches within

society. Economically, the Issei were limited to certain occupations; socially, they were residentially segregated and barred from many public and private facilities. The anti-Japanese exclusion movement climaxed with the passage of the 1924 federal Immigration Act, which terminated all Japanese immigration. From the Issei point of view, the enactment of the 1924 act, based on the assumption of racial inferiority and hence undesirability of the Japanese, signified that America had rejected them on racial grounds.

The Issei experience in America left a legacy of disillusionment and bitter resentment. After July 1, 1924, the effective date of the Immigration Act, the Issei no longer saw any future for themselves in this country. Their only conceivable future was that of their American-born children, who were American citizens. Japan entered the world political arena in the aftermath of the Manchurian Incident in 1931. Understandably, during the ensuing decade, the Issei progressively identified with the political fortunes of Japan in the Far East, culminating in their patriotic support of the homeland during the Sino-Japanese War. Underlying that process was the preceding American rejection of the Issei. They had never been a part of the American body politic and knew that they never could be. As political pariahs, they had nothing in America with which to identify politically, a void that necessarily strengthened their patriotic identification with their homeland. The majority of Issei did not believe, or refused to believe, in the possibility of war between Japan and the United States, at least until the freezing of all Japanese assets in the summer of 1941. Hence their patriotic support of Japan, in their own minds, never contradicted their residency in this country. Anti-Japanese agitators in this country, however, ascribed sinister motives and aims to Issei patriotic activities. American intelligence agents often equated the activities wrongfully with subversion, sabotage, and espionage. Victims of racial oppression can repudiate their oppressors in different ways. Patriotic identification with Japan, thus, was a way by which the Issei psychologically turned away from the America that had rejected them.

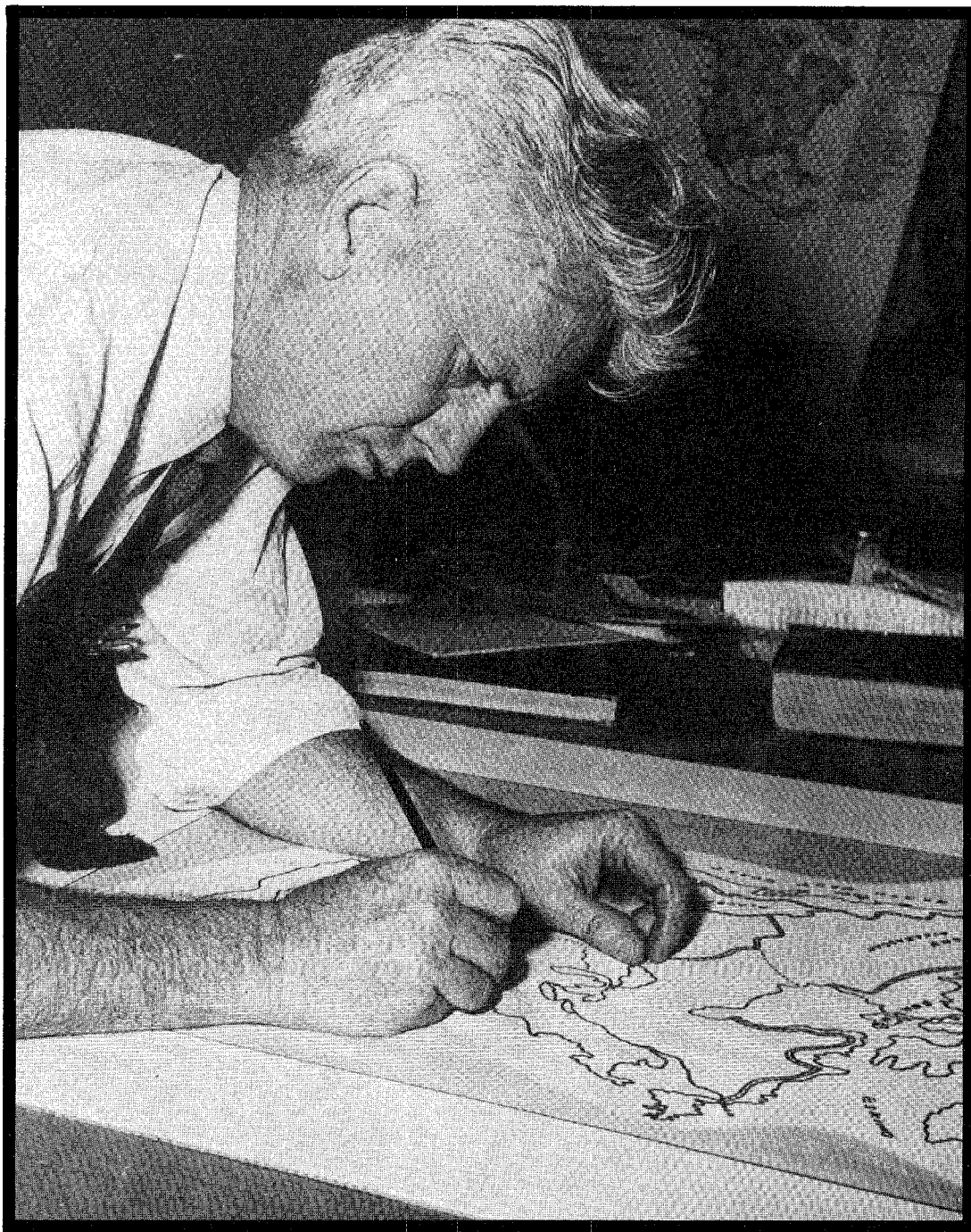
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See notes beginning on page 310.

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This calligraphy by Japanese Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yōsuke commemorated the conference of overseas Japanese held in Tokyo, 1940. The characters read "Tanshi Hōkoku," or "Sincere Patriotism." *Source: Nihon Takushoku Kyōkai, Kōki Nisen Roppyakunen Zaigai Dōhō Daihyō wo Mukaete (Tokyo, 1941,) photo reproduction courtesy Instructional Media Center, CSU Hayward.*



As anthropology curator at the Los Angeles County Museum of History, Science and Art, Robert M. Ariss was determined to present the "Man in Our Changing World" exhibit despite its controversy, especially among the museum's board members. *Courtesy Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.*

"Race Prejudice Is Not Inborn—It Is Learned": THE EXHIBIT CONTROVERSY AT THE LOS ANGELES MUSEUM OF HISTORY, SCIENCE AND ART, 1950-1952

by Howard Shorr

Many excellent studies have been written about race relations in Los Angeles in the period before 1945, but historians have slighted the postwar era.* In fact, the historiography of urban race relations has focused primarily on the American South. Yet, the nation in general underwent a change in consciousness concerning matters of race. In southern California, the 1947 *Mendez v. Westminster School District* case, which prohibited segregated schools, and the beginning of desegregation at swimming pools and in theatres indicated changing racial attitudes and the waning of overt racism. The "Man in Our Changing World" exhibit, 1950-1952, at the Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art provides a case study of contested ideas on race and a public acknowledgment of changing racial consciousness.

In 1913, the Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art (later renamed the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History) was opened to the community.¹ Over the next four decades, it expanded and created many interesting educational programs for the public. But in 1950, a major controversy surrounded the proposed exhibit "Man in

Our Changing World," which focused on racial equality. The exhibit created dissension between museum supporters who held liberal views of racial similarities and opponents upset about racial integration and the potential for social disorder. For the next three years, public and private debate over the controversial exhibit raged between these two groups.

The director of the museum, Dr. James Henry Breasted, Jr., conceived the idea for an exhibit depicting American life in the mid-twentieth century.² Robert M. Ariss, the museum's Anthropology Curator, eagerly accepted the assignment to organize the exhibit. Deeply affected by Nazi racism, the use of atomic warfare, and the problems of race relations in America, Ariss hoped the exhibit would encourage people to question racial and religious barriers and foster an appreciation of differing cultures.³ Ariss wanted the exhibit to show that "the relation of race to culture," was not a "rigid causal inter-connection."⁴ Rather, he argued, "the relationship is a flexible association of racial and cultural factors. Because of his *Homo sapiens* potentialities, any person of any race, 'pure' or admixed is capable of carrying or advancing any culture of which he is a member."⁵ Ariss believed that "race does not in any way determine cultural accomplishment. The factors which control cultural expressions are environmental and traditional."⁶

Ariss organized the "Man in Our Changing World" photomural exhibit around twenty-four panels, each fifteen by twenty feet. He divided the

*My deepest appreciation to William Deverell, Lynn Dumenil, Elliott Gorn, Glenda Riley, and Vicki Ruiz for their constructive criticisms and friendships. I would like to acknowledge Robert Ariss, Nancy J. Blomberg, William Mason, and Gretchen Sibley of the Los Angeles Natural History Museum for their insights and suggestions about the conflicts over the "Man In Our Changing World" exhibit. A very special thanks to Martin Ridge for his support and to the Huntington Library for granting me a Haynes-Huntington Summer Fellowship in 1988.

Rose Garden in front of the museum, which was renamed the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History in 1964. This older section of the museum, known as the Rotunda, was completed in 1913. *Courtesy Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.*

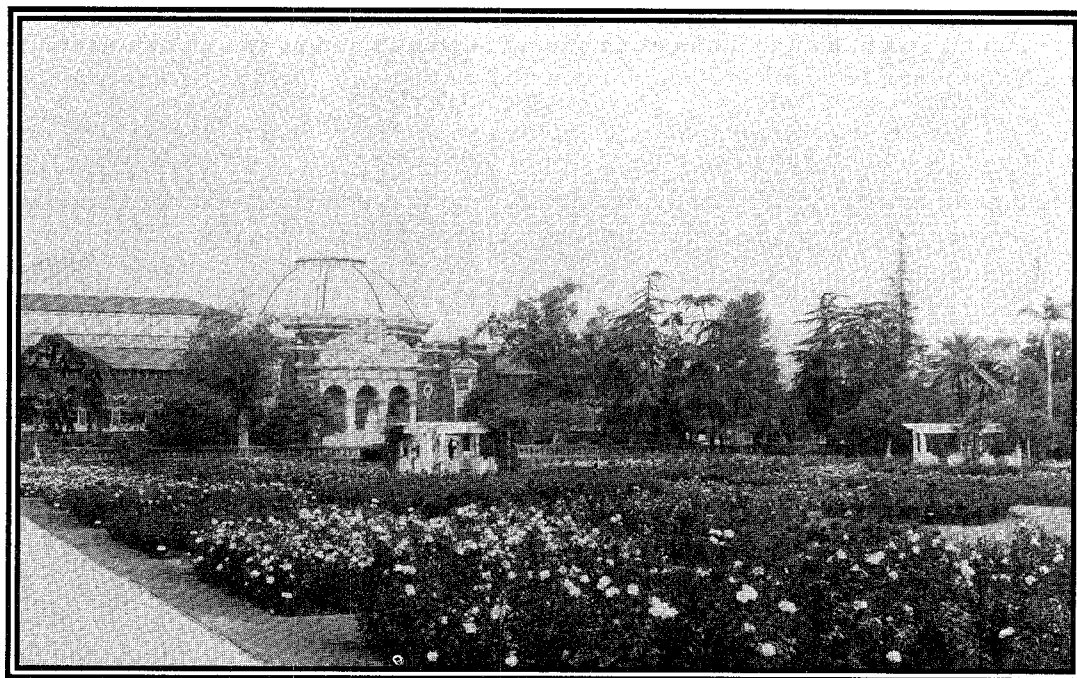


exhibit into biological, psychological, cultural, and social categories. Forming the ideological backdrop to the exhibit, the first section emphasized the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which proclaimed that "...the recognition of inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world...."⁷

The panels made bold statements regarding such topics as people's blood, heritage, intelligence, and housing. For instance, the section on blood proclaimed, "There is no way of telling a person's race by examining his blood," and, "All human blood is the same."⁸ There were assertions that "We do not inherit the skills of our forefathers; we learn them," and "All races are hereditarily capable of equal performance of all human activities."⁹ The section regarding race and intelligence was unquestionably among the most controversial. The theme behind this section declared that "Intelligence is a combination of inborn ability and training; it is not determined by race" and "because of unequal opportunities, many people are unable to develop their inborn potentialities."¹⁰ This section compared U.S. Army intelligence test scores of some northern blacks with some southern whites during World War I. The explanatory text declared, "The tests also showed that negroes from certain northern states generally did better than southern white recruits...northern negroes who excelled southern negroes and southern whites did so be-

cause social and economic opportunities were better where they grew up."¹¹

The section on housing was no less forthright: "Job discrimination, social discrimination, limited opportunities and residential restrictions tend to create slum areas and racial tensions. Decent interracial housing helps to reduce tensions and to promote understanding."¹² Other titles of sections were "All of our bodies perform alike," "The meaning of race," "No race has a monopoly on civilization," and "Race prejudice is not inborn—it is learned."¹³

The resulting conflicts over the museum exhibit reflected the changing perceptions of race relations in Los Angeles and the nation during the immediate postwar era. Even before World War II, many professional organizations and scholars opposed racial stereotyping and the concept of racial superiority. For example, in 1938 both the American Anthropological Association and the American Psychological Association denounced Nazi racial theories.¹⁴ In 1940 anthropologist Ruth Benedict condemned racism as "the new Calvinism, which asserts that one group has the stigmata of superiority and the other has those of inferiority. According to racism we know our enemies, not by their possessing wealth we want to take, but by noting their hereditary anatomy."¹⁵ In 1950, ten social scientists wrote *The UNESCO Statement on Race* that declared, "The biological fact of race and the myth of 'race' should be distinguished; for all practical social purposes 'race' is not so much a biological phenomenon as a

social myth. The myth of 'race' has created an enormous amount of human and social damage. In recent years it has taken a heavy toll in human lives and caused untold suffering."¹⁶ An emerging social and scientific consensus, striking at the basic rationale of racism, was a major force in the changing ideas of post-World War II America.¹⁷

Another factor that shaped postwar ideas about race specifically in Los Angeles was domestic racial violence during the war. Events such as the Sleepy Lagoon Affair and the Zoot Suit Riots, which had pitted whites against Mexican Americans, and the forced removal of Japanese Americans to relocation camps had aggravated racial tension and discrimination in the city.¹⁸ People feared that racial incidents such as these occurring after World War I and during the second war would be repeated after 1945. Los Angeles County Supervisor John Anson Ford warned that "if our law enforcement officers will speak frankly they will tell you that they are in constant state of anxiety lest some untoward incidents shall start flames of murderous passions that will repeat the outbreaks in Detroit and Harlem."¹⁹

Nationwide, the fear of more racial violence led to the creation of human relations and intercultural

committees dealing with race relations in the mid- and late-1940s. These organizations stressed the need for education in interracial understanding and a consideration of the moral factors that deprived many minorities of their normal rights and privileges. By 1949, more than 1,300 human relations committees or organizations in fifty-one cities and twenty-one states were working to improve race relations.²⁰

Race is a crucial factor in understanding Los Angeles. Indians, Spaniards, Mexicans, whites, Chinese, Japanese, blacks, and other groups have altered the social landscape of the city for centuries. Like other American communities, north and south, Los Angeles had segregated neighborhoods into the mid-twentieth century.²¹ After playing a major role in American military forces during World War II, minorities actively sought improvements in their civil and human rights and pushed for an end to discrimination in housing and employment in the city.

In Los Angeles housing, nevertheless, restrictive covenants remained commonplace. A cornerstone of such segregation was article 34 of the Code of



The post-war economic boom in southern California brought prosperity and rapid growth to the Los Angeles area, but at the same time it created tensions between certain social and ethnic groups. *Courtesy Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.*

Ethics of the National Association of Real Estate Boards that stated, "A realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, members of any race or nationality, or any individuals whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood."²² Some people in Los Angeles believed that if minorities purchased homes in restricted areas there would be a greater chance of racial problems and a decline in the academic quality of the public schools.²³

Minority families also endured physical and mental harassment while searching for housing in post-war Los Angeles. Some could not purchase dwellings because of deed restrictions, while other families who bought property had animal blood or paint poured over the sides of their homes. In some areas, white homeowners banded together to "buy out" their new minority neighbors.

A black family was jailed in 1945 for the offense of moving into a home in one of the areas in Los Angeles where non-Caucasians were forbidden to live according to a private compact of individual property owners, although the family was later released from the Los Angeles County Jail by the California Supreme Court. In another case, a Mexican American woman was not allowed to purchase a house in El Monte in 1945 because of a deed restriction that prohibited Mexicans from "owning or occupying property." Complicating the problem of minority housing, many Japanese Americans returning from relocation camps moved into temporary settlements in greater Los Angeles. Some Japanese Americans with housing had more than one family living in their home in the early post-war era.²⁴

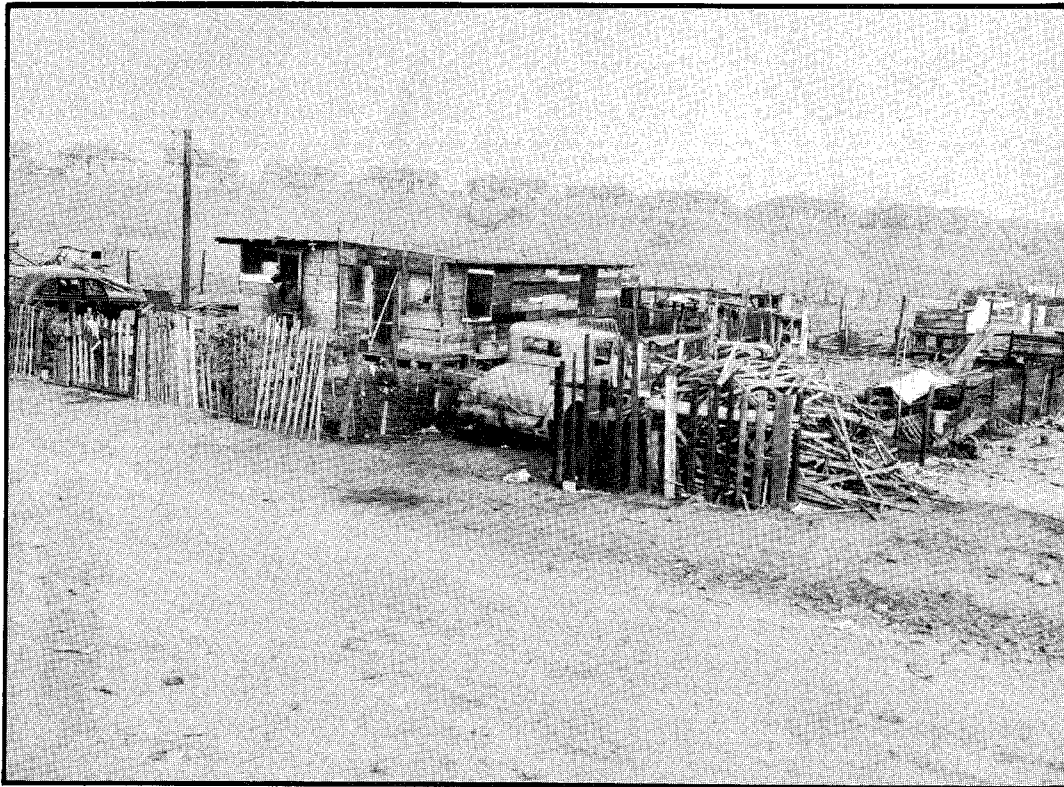
Nor did the construction of public housing assist minorities in integrating into the community. In discussing federally funded public housing, historian Kenneth Jackson has argued that the result "if not the intent . . . was to segregate the races, to concentrate the disadvantaged in inner cities, and to reinforce the image of suburbia as a place of refuge . . . [from] the problems of race, crime, and poverty."²⁵ In any case, only three public housing projects in Los Angeles were built in the late 1940s, two of which were white only and the third of which was reserved exclusively for Mexican Americans.²⁶

Unemployment and employment discrimination were also critical problems in post-war Los Angeles and throughout California. According to the Governor's Conference on Employment in 1949, "the chief factor among various causes of such employ-

ment is the existence of widespread discrimination in employment because of race, religion, national origin, or ancestry."²⁷ "Unemployment among minority groups," the conference concluded, "is approaching the crisis stage in some areas."²⁸ Also, some job applications routinely required applicants to disclose their racial, religious, and ancestral backgrounds.²⁹

In the face of its legacy of tension, Los Angeles achieved some progress in the area of race relations after World War II. The County of Los Angeles Joint Committee for Interracial Progress (later renamed the Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission) was created in 1944 to promote interracial understanding. Citizens wrote to the committee complaining about discrimination in myriad areas.³⁰ Members of the committee advocated social change, and at the same time, Mexican American, Japanese American, and black civil rights organizations also made their presence felt. In 1948, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled restrictive covenants unconstitutional; the ban on interracial marriages ended in California in 1949; and the Alien Land Law, which had particularly hindered property ownership by Japanese immigrants, was struck down in 1952.³¹

With this background of tense race relations in housing and employment and new assertiveness by minority groups, in April 1950, some of the Los Angeles museum's board of governors complained that the proposed exhibit, "Man in Our Changing World" might aggravate racial friction and even cause violence. William H. Schuchardt, president of the board of governors, wrote letters to the mayor of Los Angeles, the Los Angeles County Sheriff, and the executive director of the Los Angeles Housing Authority asking for assurances that racial incidents would not occur as a result of the exhibit.³² All three officials assured Schuchardt that they viewed the exhibit as a positive concept, and County Sheriff Eugene Biscailuz felt that the exhibit "should be considered as another 'stepping stone' in our American way of life which . . . [tends] to increase our understanding and acceptance of our fellow man regardless of race, creed or color."³³ Scholars and politicians likewise viewed "Man in Our Changing World" in a favorable light. In support of the exhibit, Ralph L. Beals, president of the American Anthropological Association, wrote the director of the museum that "our racial attitudes have so tended to emphasize the very superficial differences and leave out



Minorities who contributed essential skills to the workforce during World War II often found themselves the victims of various forms of discrimination as they sought equality in the late 1940s and early '50s. Barred from most comfortable Los Angeles neighborhoods, they were forced to seek housing in deteriorating slums south and east of downtown or in temporary shack-villages around the periphery of the city, such as "Jintown," in west Whittier, shown here. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

the...overwhelming preponderance of similarities between different human varieties....We cannot make too frequent efforts to clarify public thinking on these matters, particularly in terms of the problems of the world in which we now live."³⁴

Although the board was far from reassured in 1950, organization of the exhibit continued. However, in September 1951, a whirlwind of conflicts began when the new board president William T. Sesson, Jr., and fellow board member J.R. Pemberton requested that work on "Man in Our Changing World" be stopped because it advocated the "mixing of the races."³⁵ At the next board of governors meeting in October, Sesson requested that the board's history committee review "...the merit of presentation of matter concerned."³⁶ Two days following the October 16 meeting, T. Dale Gardner, Executive Director of the Los Angeles County Committee on Human Relations, wrote a confidential memorandum regarding the exhibit to John Anson Ford. Gardner argued that Sesson and other board members opposed those parts of the exhibit that displayed open racial mixing, such as "a picture of members of different racial groups participating in actual blood transfusions," and one of "a picture of boys of different ethnic backgrounds with their arms around each others shoulders."³⁷ Gardner also charged that the board had instructed

a top-level administrator of the museum "to rearrange the exhibit so it would be suitable for public presentation."³⁸ Gardner supported presenting the exhibit and stated that human relations agencies in Los Angeles believed that for the first time "a truly scientific presentation of anthropological and sociological data concerning the races for mankind has been prepared in Los Angeles for presentation to the public. They feel that it would be effective in exploding such myths as 'negro blood,' 'yellow skin,' and the 'Jewish nose.'"³⁹ Gardner's memorandum concluded by asking if the board of governors had the power to censor the content of the exhibit.⁴⁰

Written and oral evidence indicate that the board of governors collectively opposed opening the exhibit. The new acting director Fred Gehring, however, predicted that if the exhibit were cancelled, the board would be criticized by elements in the community.⁴¹ Robert Ariss, who wanted to save the exhibit, believed that Sesson, Pemberton, and other board members were "Caucasian supremacists" who would do anything to stop the public from viewing the exhibit.⁴² He later wrote that "had I not alerted most of my colleagues in the social sciences and many Liberally inclined individuals and institutions at many diverse points, the exhibit would certainly have been withdrawn."⁴³

Word of the debate leaked out, for newspaper articles soon appeared questioning the possible closing or changing of the exhibit. An article entitled "Museum Men Defend Race Equality Show" discussed the issue of censorship by the board. Another story, with the emotional headline "Stalin Haunts Museum Fathers," disclosed the news that most of the board members opposed the exhibit.⁴⁴ The strongest attack against the board's position, however, appeared in a November 10, 1951, article in the *Los Angeles Daily News* headlined "Museum Board Shies at Pictures of Half-caste." "Members of the board of governors of the Los Angeles County Museum," the story began, "seem to be afraid of pictures. The pictures that inspire the fear depict anthropological aspects of man's history, and his present conduct as a social animal on this planet. The board appears to fear that such photographs will suggest that it is a good idea for races to intermingle."⁴⁵

Scholars and community leaders also sent letters of protest to the museum. One of the leading forces in this protest against modifying the exhibit was Walter Goldschmidt, president of the Southwest Anthropological Association. He wrote a strong letter to Gehring stating that rearranging the exhibit would "destroy its original purpose and meaning" and "in these troublous times it is important that the public be made aware of the concept of race and its limitations as a basis of understanding human behavior and such understanding will help lead the world to peace."⁴⁶ Gehring replied that the museum did not wish to modify the original purpose of the exhibit, but "the Board's concern has been that the exhibit be effectively presented from the standpoint of good museum technique."⁴⁷ Believing that good museum technique was not the issue, Goldschmidt wrote another forceful letter to Gehring in which he declared that the possible changes at the exhibit are "misinforming the public. As scholars and scientists we wish zealously to guard the kind of message that goes before the public in this community."⁴⁸

Supporters of racial justice continued to mistrust the board's actions. George L. Thomas, Executive Director of the Los Angeles Conference on Community Relations, warned the new permanent director of the museum, Jean Delacour, that "unfortunately you will be confronted with a serious protest movement among organizations in this area to the proposed changes in the exhibit. The Board of Directors objected to some of the panels, and especially to those which give scientific facts on

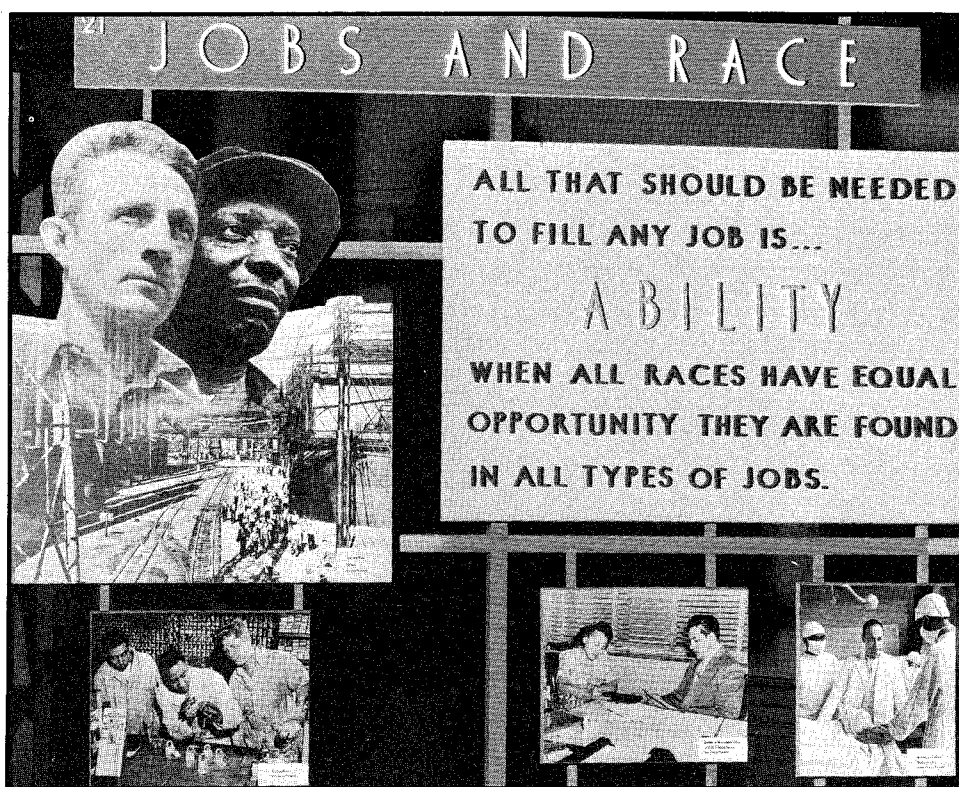


When the "Man in Our Changing World" exhibit finally opened in June 1952, it proved very popular, drawing little criticism from the thousands of visitors who saw it. Courtesy Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.

similarities between peoples of all groups."⁴⁹ Early in 1952, Delacour reassured Thomas that he wanted the exhibit to open soon, but "it has to be made a little more striking and attractive."⁵⁰

The members of the museum's board of governors had underestimated the strength of the liberal intellectual consensus. The board finally decided to end the ideological war. On June 7, 1952, "Man in Our Changing World" opened for seven months. But believing the subject and presentation of the exhibit would cause problems, the board installed a telephone in the exhibit room to summon authorities in case of emergencies.⁵¹ The controversial opening of the exhibit was testimony to a successful fight against censorship. Yet without the driving force of Robert Ariss and his contact with scholars, community leaders, and the media, the exhibit would have been cancelled.

"Man in Our Changing World" was popular from the day it opened. *The Los Angeles Review* said, "It seems to liberate our thinking to an extent where differences become interesting rather than frightening."⁵² The museum received numerous letters from local citizens. A Boy Scout leader declared "hatreds threaten to divide and destroy the democratic peoples of the world, indeed perhaps to destroy mankind. Such hatreds are fed upon preju-



Illustrations depicting close proximity of blacks and whites, as in this panel from the "Man in Our Changing World" exhibit, were seen as a challenge to white dominance by some critics. *Courtesy Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.*

dicé and misconceptions about other people. Only by a general dissemination of the facts of the races of man can we combat the falsehood that forms the foundation of discrimination and mistrust."⁵³ Another person wrote: "In this period of organized bigotry and vocal minority pressure groups, it is more than ever important that educational and instructive effort of the sort presented by 'Man in Our Changing World' should be maintained."⁵⁴

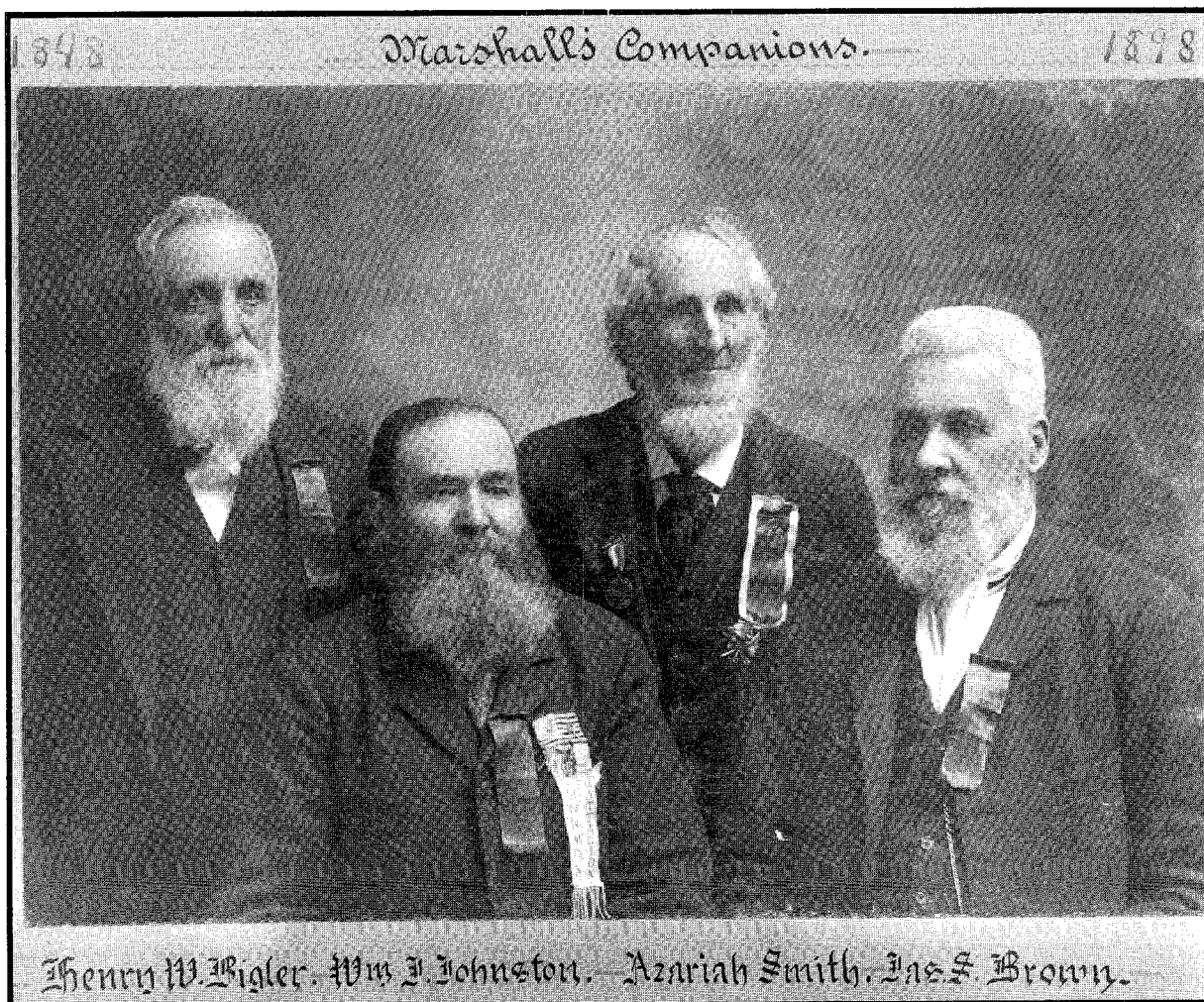
A small percentage of people opposed the exhibit. One letter writer asserted "it is therefore my suggestion that the museum be used to enrich and build culture upon past foundation... [rather than encourage] its destruction by teaching the gospel of Karl Marx," and another letter declared that "the entire exhibit was prepared by Atheists and Red Fronts."⁵⁵ The museum's 1952 *Annual Report of the Department of History, Science and Art* stated that "the exhibit has attracted wide attention and acclaim since its opening and numerous letters of commendation have been received from educational, community service, church and museum groups."⁵⁶ At the conclusion of the exhibit, one newspaper reported that "at times and in some other places, an

exhibit keyed to this note might have had difficulties with public acceptance. But, with minor exceptions thousands of men and women, boys and girls, have trooped past its 24 sections saying in effect: 'Yes, of Course.'⁵⁷

The "Man in Our Changing World" exhibit demonstrated the changing views of race relations and of a new social order emerging in Los Angeles after World War II. The ideological war between the museum's board of governors and elements in the community existed not because of the exhibit but surfaced because of different perceptions of race. The exhibit represented a milestone in race relations in Los Angeles that reflected a new step in attitudes toward racial integration. CHS

See notes beginning on page 311.

Howard Shorr is a history teacher in the Los Angeles public schools. He has written numerous articles about the history of Los Angeles and just completed a two-volume Study Guide to Accompany The Pursuit of Liberty: A History of the American People by R. Jackson Wilson, et al. (Wadsworth, 1990). Shorr is now working on a new manuscript about race relations and public housing in Los Angeles since World War II.



Henry Bigler, left, and the other three survivors of the 1848 discovery of gold, photographed during the fiftieth anniversary celebration in San Francisco. *Courtesy California State Library.*

DOCUMENT

"Many Wanted to Know Which Was Mr. Bigler": Henry Bigler's Account of the 1898 California Golden Jubilee

*Edited with an Introduction by
M. Guy Bishop*

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

On 24 January 1848 James W. Marshall discovered gold at John A. Sutter's sawmill site along the American River. That day's unexpected find was the spark that ignited the famed California Gold Rush—doubtless one of the major events in mid-nineteenth century California, the United States, and much of the world. The discovery ultimately led four veterans of the Mormon Battalion of Mexican-American War service down a path of some renown. Of these Mormons, the one whose name came to be most closely associated with the gold discovery was Henry William Bigler.

In the winter of 1848, Henry Bigler was thirty-two years old. He was born in the backwoods of western Virginia in 1815 to a family constantly struggling for whatever material success they found. Along with his immediate kin, Bigler converted to Mormonism in 1837. Within the ensuing decade he witnessed the expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri and then Illinois. In 1846 he enlisted in the Mormon Battalion of the U.S. Army, marching halfway across the continent to southern California to help occupy the province during the Mexican War. At Los Angeles in July 1847, Bigler and most of the other Mormons "mustered out" of the Army.¹

After their discharge, Bigler and several companions started for the Great Basin in search of Brigham Young and the main party of Mormon emigrants, whom they expected to find in the area of northern Utah's Bear River. "We hardly knew what way to strike out," Bigler observed, "for we had no guide, except an old California map with very few rivers or anything else marked on it." Choosing a northerly route that would take them via Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento River, the Mormons began their homeward trek.² For Henry Bigler and several others, it became a trail of destiny.

They reached Sutter's Fort on 26 August 1847. Pausing only long enough to purchase supplies, get some blacksmith work done, and make plans for the remainder of their eastward journey, the Mormons were soon on their way. (Interestingly, on the very day the battalion veterans stopped at the fort, Sutter entered into a partner-

ship with James W. Marshall, another Mexican-American War veteran. The two men planned to construct a sawmill on the American River.) As the Mormons passed Donner Lake and headed down the eastern slope of the Sierra, they met Captain James Brown, an officer from the battalion who carried a message to them from Mormon church leader Brigham Young. Mormon men without families in the Great Salt Lake Valley were instructed by Young to remain in California to work during the winter.³ Consequently, Bigler and some thirty others retraced their steps to Sutter's Fort and sought employment.

For two weeks Henry Bigler labored with a work crew at Sutter's flouring mill near the fort. Then he was sent in company with Azariah Smith, William Johnson, and Israel Evans, three other Mormon Battalion veterans, to join James Marshall and work at the sawmill site.⁴ Although neither Sutter nor Marshall ever noted why these four were chosen, the selection altered Bigler's life in unimaginable ways.

One morning in January 1848, Marshall surveyed the progress on the mill's tailrace. His own recollection was printed in Hutchings' *Illustrated California Magazine* of 1857. "Near the lower end [of the tailrace], . . . upon the rock, about six inches beneath the surface of the water," he said, "I DISCOVERED THE GOLD." But that day and afterward, much confusion surrounded the gold discovery. Marshall was uncertain, for example, exactly on what day it had occurred. Of those present, many later claimed to have been the first to see Marshall's particles of gold. One thing was clear, however, few of the witnesses gave much credence at the time to Marshall's optimistic boast that he had found a gold mine. Such luck seemed very unlikely to these doubtful war veterans. But Henry Bigler gave it enough credibility to make a brief notation in his day book: "This day some kind of mettle was found in the tail of the race that looks like gold."⁵

This habit of recording his daily life, a practice Bigler had faithfully followed since at least 1846, eventually earned him a lasting place in the annals of California history as the man who dated

~~Monday~~ ^{17th} Monday 24th This day
 some kind of mettles was
~~discovered~~ was found in the tail race that
 that looks like gold first discovery
 made by James W. Wadsworth, the Babcock mill.
 Sunday 30th Clear & has been
 all the last week our metal
 has been tried and proves to
 be gold it is thought to be
 rich we have pick up more than
 a hundred dollars worth last
 week
 February. 1848
 Sun 6th the weather has been clear

Henry Bigler's diary
 page from January 24,
 1848, noting
 "mettle... that looks
 like gold." Several
 years later, his
 verification of the date
 served as the official
 record of Marshall's
 discovery. Courtesy
 The Society of
 California Pioneers.

the gold discovery. Fifty years later it also brought him an honored place at the 1898 Golden Jubilee celebration in San Francisco. But his "celebrity" status hadn't come automatically. In 1870, while living at the small northern Utah community of Farmington, Bigler learned of an inaccurate dating of the gold discovery. Realizing that he might appear as a belated glory-seeker by speaking up at this time, he still felt duty-bound to relate what he knew. Quoting extracts from his own 1848 diary, Henry Bigler submitted a letter to the editor of the *San Francisco Weekly Bulletin*. Stating that "I was one of the men at work at Coloma at the time the gold was found by Marshall," Bigler went on to give his account for the first time.⁶

His letter came to the attention of California historian Hubert Howe Bancroft. Realizing the potential significance of Bigler's story, Bancroft quickly made contact with this previously-unknown Mormon. The letter from the historian inaugurated an unlikely relationship between the two which lasted for years. In 1872, Bancroft, then in the midst of preparing a history of California, asked Bigler to contribute his personal reminiscences. These writings, known as the "Diary of a Mormon in California," are now preserved at the University of California's Bancroft Library in Berkeley. As he embarked on a new avocation as a chronicler of history, however, Bigler realized his own literary limitations. Begging the historian Bancroft to overlook his lack of formal education, he pleaded "Dear sir please excuse me for I expect you will laugh or swear [swear] at my awkward way of writing."⁷

This association with Bancroft soon put Henry Bigler in contact

with another San Francisco-area historian, John Shertzer Hittell.⁸ Ten years younger than Bigler, Hittell had come to California in 1849 with dreams of striking it rich. However, by 1852 he had abandoned that quest and taken a position with the *Alta California* as a staff writer. Most of the remainder of his life was spent researching and writing about California's history, people, and resources. He served many years as the historian of The Society of California Pioneers, and it was in that capacity that he first became acquainted with Henry Bigler.

Eventually, Hittell asked Bigler to provide him with a transcription of his important 1848 diary. He saw to it that Bigler's account was published in *The Overland Monthly* in 1887. Following Bigler's 1870 letter to the *San Francisco Bulletin*, the later publication of a portion of his diary, and the work by John S. Hittell establishing Monday, 24 January 1848, as the date of the gold find, Bigler's name became linked to the gold discovery.⁹

Henry Bigler seems to have initiated his own attendance at the 1898 Golden Jubilee celebration at San Francisco through an 1897 letter he sent to Hittell. The following account of the Jubilee, drawn primarily from Bigler's journal, now held by the Archives of the Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City, comprises Bigler's account of the event and his participation therein. His original spelling and grammar remain unchanged. Notations have been used only to provide identification of people and places mentioned.

FEBRUARY 7, 1897

Mr. John S. Hittell, Dear Sir,

You speak of the 24th of Jan. 1898 will be the 50th or SemiCentennial anniversary of the Gold discovery that you suppose the Pioneer Society of San Francisco will then have a grand celebration but that you have little part in managin[g] the affair and may have nothing to say about the celebration but if I feel like making suggestions you would be glad to hear them. I do not know that I have any to make but it seems to me that the Society should have all the survivors of the party who were present at the time the discovery was made should be at that grand celebration. All I believe have passed away but four.

Respectfully yours,
[signed] Henry W. Bigler¹⁰

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1897

I received the following letter,

1216 Hyde Street, San Francisco, Dec. 15th 1897

Dear Mr. Bigler. This evening the Celebrating Committee of the Pioneer Society adopted a resolution to invite you to attend the Golden Jubilee of California as an honored guest of the Society which will provide you with first class transporting from and to your home and take charge of your hotel bill from the 22nd till the 31st January 1898 in the city [San Francisco]. You will hear from me again before the middle of January.

Yours truly,
[signed] John S. Hittell¹¹

FRIDAY, JANUARY 7, 1898

Dear Mr. Bigler. To day I sent a telegram announcing that fifty dollars will be given today to the Express to pay your expenses in making a comfortable trip from St. George to Ogden and also to pay your sleeping birth [berth] in a Pullman car and your meals from Ogden to San Francisco. A letter mailed to you today contains a railroad pass from Ogden to San Francisco and return.

I have a promise that the railroad agent at Ogden will do his best to provide you with a lower birth [berth] in the train which leaves Ogden the night of Thursday the 20th. I expect to meet you on the boat from Oakland about 9 A.M. on the 22d. I will wear a Pioneer badge and a bit of ribbon in button hole on the left lappel of my coat.

Yours sincerely,
[signed] John S. Hittell

The above letter was received several days after it was written but the same day I got the following telegram from Mr. Hittell.

San Francisco, Jan 7th. To Henry W. Bigler Saint George, we express fifty dollars to you. Come in comfort.

[signed] John S. Hittell

and in less than two hours afterward I received the following letter.

San Francisco, Cal. Jan. 7th, 1898. Henry W. Bigler Esq. St. George Utah.

Dear Sir—

The Society of California Pioneers invites you to attend the Golden Jubilee celebration of our State and to accept the hospitality of the Society in San Francisco from the 22d til the 31st of January, 1898. Enclosed find a pass from the S.P.R.R. [Southern Pacific Railroad] Co. for your passage from Ogden to San Francisco and return. We enclose herewith Wells, Fargo & Cos. money order payable at Milford [Utah] for Fifty dollars in coin to pay for your sleeping berth and meals on the way. We have engaged a lower berth for you on the Pullman car which leaves Ogden on the night of Thursday, the 20th inst.

The reception committee will meet you on the Oakland boat on the morning of Saturday, the 22nd, and will wear the badge of the Society. Should you miss seeing them you will go to the Russ House where we have engaged rooms and board for you.

Should you not be able to come, please return the enclosed Railroad pass, and notify the Ticket Agent at Ogden that you will not use the sleeping berth.

Yours truly
(signed) J. I. Spear
Secty¹²

I will here state that there is only 4 living now who were with Marshall at the time he discovered the gold in california, namely Azariah Smith at Manti [Utah], James S. Brown, Salt Lake City, William Johnston of [New] Mexico and myself of St. George and as I have heard since all was written to, to be at the Golden Jubilee at the committees expense.

MONDAY, JANUARY 10, 1898

this evening when I went home from the temple¹³ my daughter Maude read to me the following telegram[:]

3.43 PM Jan 10th 1898 Salt Lake Utah To Henry W. Bigler St. George. "We have appropriated enough to furnish you a suit of clothes and give you ten or fifteen dollars pocket money besides." George Q. Cannon.¹⁴

This dispatch grew out of a letter I had written to the First Presidency [a ruling body in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints consisting of the President and two counsellors] before and I feel it is very kind in them to help me to some means outside of their help I mean the Jubilee committee as I am short of money and may need a little something that I could not get for want of money outside of the Committees help.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 13 [really the 14th], 1898

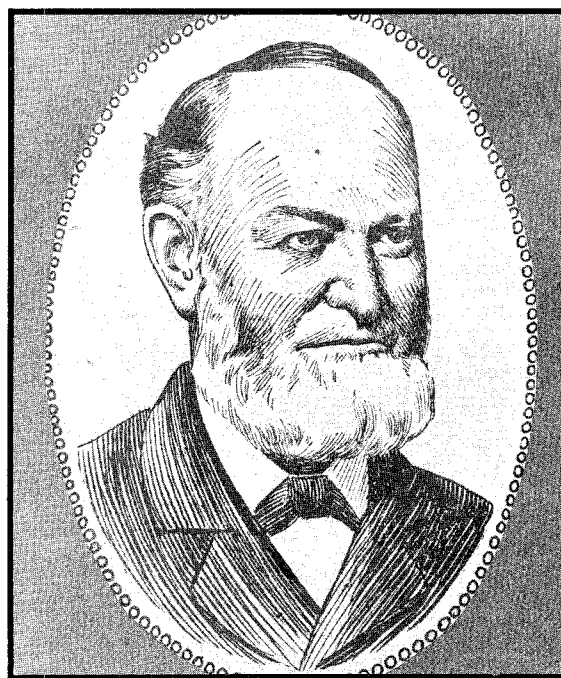
I left home for the Jubilee by private conveyance the weather was cold and snow on the ground was 4 days reaching Milford where [I] took the cars. at Salt Lake City I met with President Cannon who paid me the money to buy me a suit of clothes and the pocket money he spoke about in the telegram. I then went to Farmington [north of Salt Lake City] to see my sister [Hannah Bigler Miller]. Stayed all night with her and visited friends etc. At Farmington I met the other three brethren they were in the cars on their way to Ogden where we all took the cars for San Francisco where we reached on the morning of the 22nd.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 22, 1898

We were met on the Oakland boat by the committee and conducted to the Russ House or hotel where rooms were furnished us each having a separate room.¹⁵ as soon as we reached Oakland and hardly got out of the cars when a lady whome I never had seen came up to me and said "Mr. Bigler, I am pleased to meet you. I know your history. I have read your journal and I want to pin this Badge on your coat collar." Her name as I afterward learned was Mary M. Greer a relative of Mr. Hittells neither of whome I had ever seen. At the Russ House we were met by reporters and others until late at night. I had taken a severe cold and coughed a good deal and Mr. Hittell went out and got some Liquorish [licorice] and hoarhound candy and gave me.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 23, 1898

Cough is better. Visited all day by parties who wanted to see us.



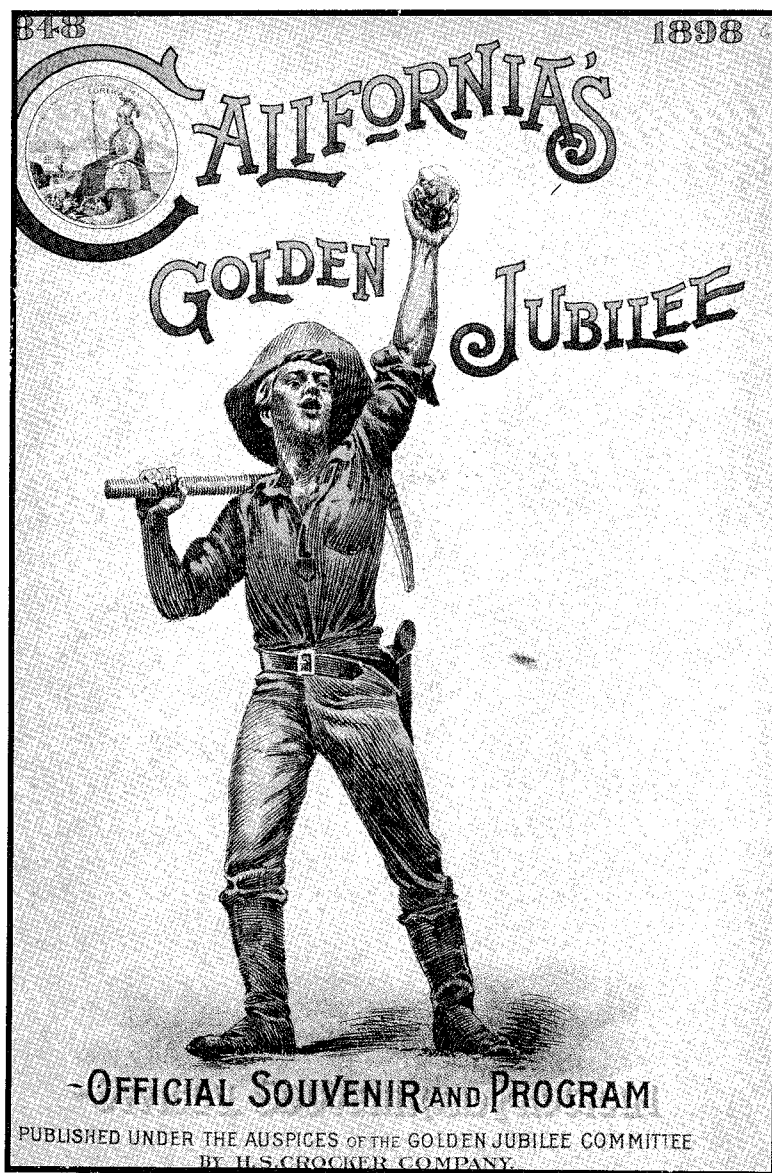
Historian John S. Hittell.
Courtesy California State Library.

MONDAY, JANUARY 24, 1898

the day was cold and disagreeable but for all of that it is estimated that there was two hundred thousand people present who joined the procession and crowded the streets to get a sight of the men who were with Marshall at the time he found the gold many wanted to know which was Mr. Bigler for it was just fifty years ago since the precious stuff was found and I being the one that gave the true date of the discovery all wanted to see me.¹⁶ Carriages was furnished us and we were in the procession until at last I was taken back to the Russ house by Mr. Hittell he seeing it was cold and disagreeable for me to be out. Here I was visited by many among them was my brother in law O. Whipple and wife¹⁷ whome I had not seen for years also his sister Rosetta, they live in Oakland also a Mr. S[illegible] and wife, all took dinner at the hotel with me. When all had gone no one present but ourselves I got the Elders to lay hands on me.¹⁸

TUESDAY, JANUARY 25, 1898

Feel first rate. Visited by strangers all wanted to see us and especially me.



Courtesy Huntington Library.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 26, 1898
We were visited by many.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 27, 1898
We had some rest, not so many visited us.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 28, 1898
We were taken in a fine carriage to the Golden Gate Park.¹⁹ here we saw [illegible] birds of most

all sorts and kinds also the Buffalo, Elk, Moose, Antelope and deer of various kinds among the animals was a grizzly bear 8 years old we were told that weighed over 2000 pounds. this Park is kep[t] by a man by the name of John McLaren [McLaren] who gave us each a book showing the twenty sixth annual report of the board of the park commissioners of San Francisco for the year ending June 30, 1897. We were taken to the musium where we see allmost everything. We were conducted to all these places by Captain McKinzie.



San Francisco's Russ House, where Henry Bigler stayed as a guest of the Pioneer Society during the Jubilee celebration. *Courtesy California State Library.*

SATURDAY, JANUARY 29, 1898

Captain McKinzie took us to see the Union Iron-works where there are over 2,900 men at work shipbuilding etc.²⁰ in the afternoon we were taken to Pioneer hall where our likenesses were taken in a group and at night taken to the Miners Pavillion where there was a very large audience. Speeches were made and we were introduced to the crowd and people came to shake hands with us Partook of an excellent supper at the Pavillion it was midnight by the time we got back to the Russ house.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 30, 1898

In the city is a branch of the Church. We met with the Saints and was called upon to speak we did so and then returned to the Russ house where we

were met by Hittell and a Mr. Pinkam who gave us means to pay our way back home as our time will be up by tomorrow morning. We were then invited to the Ladies parlor where short speeches were made and a number [illegible] presents and \$50 in gold was given each of us by a gentleman by the name of T.J. Parsons of San Francisco.²¹ This to us was a surprise and not looked for.

MONDAY, JANUARY 31, 1898

at an early hour Smith and I left for home. Johnston had lost his ticket and could not go. Brown concluded to stay a few days and if the way opened he would lecture and preach. I afterward learned that Johnstons ticket was found on the street and he got it all right.

EDITOR'S POSTSCRIPT

Henry William Bigler died at St. George, Utah, in November 1900. His California acquaintances still remembered him at that time. Notices of the pioneer's passing were published in newspapers from Sacramento to Los Angeles. And Salt Lake City's *Deseret Evening News* lauded Bigler as "one of the notable characters in the history of Western America."²² For Bigler, the 1898 San Francisco Golden Jubilee was his moment of recognition as a figure of some importance in California's

past. For, in his own words, "all wanted to know which was Mr. Bigler."

CHS

See notes beginning on page 312.

M. Guy Bishop is Head of Research Services, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County. He has recently completed the manuscript of a book-length biography of Henry William Bigler.



Pioneer Hall, San Francisco, headquarters of the Society of California Pioneers, which played a prominent role in organizing the Golden Jubilee celebration of 1898. Courtesy California State Library.

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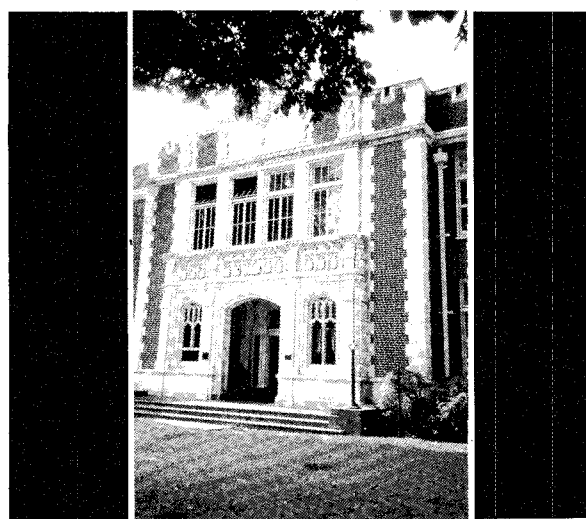
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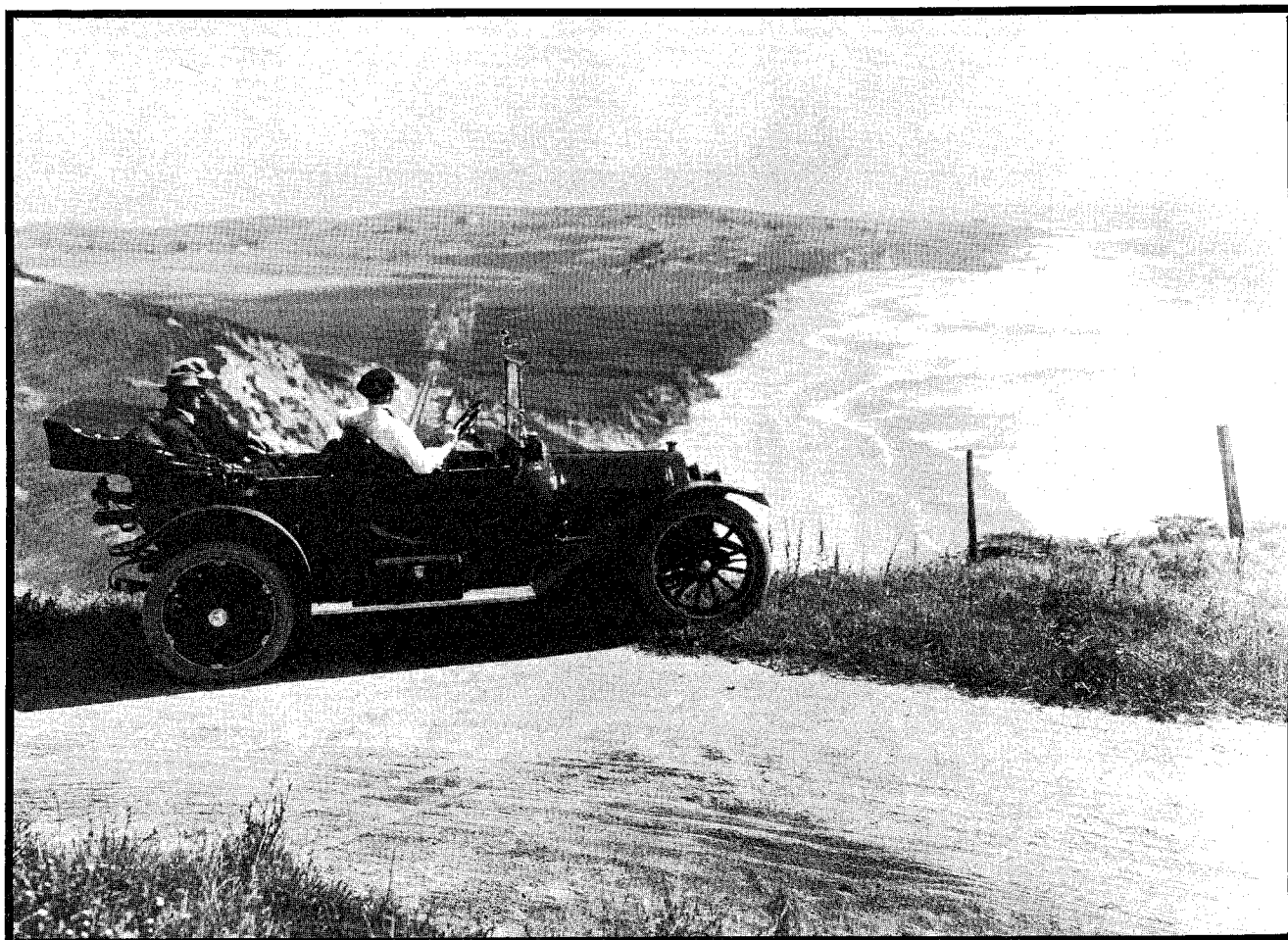
IF THE WALLS COULD TALK

COLUSA'S
ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE
JANE FOSTER CARTER

Delightful to read, *If The Walls Could Talk* was written from scholarly research of 325 existing nineteenth-and-early-twentieth-century buildings and sites in the historic California city of Colusa located on the Sacramento River.

Author Jane Foster Carter won the California Historical Society's 1989 Award of Merit for Historic Preservation and the California Preservation Foundation's 1990 Design Award for this book, which captures the historic resources of Colusa in beautiful contemporary photographs and provides historical and biographical notes about the owners and occupants, the architects and builders.

Highly recommended for all architectural historians, preservationists and planners. Hardcover limited edition available for \$40.00 (plus \$3.00 postage and handling and \$2.50 tax) from the **California Historical Society**, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109 or the **City of Colusa**, 425 Webster Street, Colusa, CA 95932.



Taking in the view along the southern California coast in a "Kissel-Kar," 1914. Courtesy California State Library.

Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century.

By John F. Sears. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, xiv, 243 pp., \$24.95 cloth.)

American Progress: The Growth of the Transport, Tourist, and Information Industries in the Nineteenth Century West Seen Through the Life and Times of George A. Crofutt, Pioneer and Publicist of the Transcontinental Age.

By J. Valerie Fifer. (Chester, Connecticut: The Globe Pequot Press, 1988, xii, 472 pp., \$29.95 cloth.)

Motoring Tourists and the Scenic West, 1903-1948.

By Michael Vinson. (Dallas, Texas: Southern Methodist University, 1989, viii, 42 pp.)

Reviewed by Daniel W. Markwyn, Professor of History at Sonoma State University.

Acquisition of California and the Southwest in 1848 challenged Anglo-Americans to incorporate fully the conquered provinces into their culture and their market system. When Richard Henry Dana had written before the Mexican War about the possibilities in California if it were "in the hands of an enterprising people," he had written a lament. Now his words became a call to action. Some who answered the call chose the travel and tourist industries as the means of extending Anglo-American hegemony, especially in the late nine-

teenth and early twentieth centuries. These three books, quite different in purpose, scope, and format, show how entrepreneurs, tourists, and travelers promoted "Americanization" of the West.

John F. Sears, in *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century*, contends that tourism helped America invent itself "as a culture." Nineteenth-century Americans traveled to "sacred places" like Niagara Falls, where awe or curiosity encouraged reflection on what it meant to be an American. Sears's focus is broader than either California or the West, but his analysis of early nineteenth-century responses to Niagara Falls, Mammoth Cave, and Mount Auburn Cemetery heightens our understanding of the primary "sacred places" in the West: Yosemite and Yellowstone. According to Sears, an increasing belief in the redemptive power of landscape through tourism broadened support for the establishment as parks of both Yosemite in 1864 and Yellowstone in 1872. Moreover, Sears asserts that Yosemite was not just another park in an established tradition. Instead, its creation marked a profound change in "the history of American tourism," for by the 1850s, tourism was both "cultural activity" and established industry. Thus Yosemite provided immediate opportunities, not only for visitors seeking confirmation of American identity in its grandeur, but for those who brought them there in increasing numbers. No sooner had the Mariposa Battalion and the Indians it sought to punish left the valley than entrepreneurs like James Mason Hutchings entered it, fully aware of its commercial potential. And the game began, systematically and rapidly, but with a corporate approach to the commercial possibilities instead of the individualistic one characteristic of tourist attractions farther east.

Valerie Fifer's *American Progress* is a big book intent on explaining "The Growth of the Transport, Tourist, and Information Industries in the Nineteenth-Century West seen through the Life and Times of George A. Crofutt, Pioneer and Publicist of the Transcontinental Age." Fifer, a geographer, is much interested in the marketing and consequent transformation of the American West. Her central figure is George Crofutt, a restless "traveling man," Colorado pioneer, and leader in the rapidly growing western guidebook industry. Although Crofutt drops from sight for pages and chapters at a time, his frequent absences do not weaken the book, for Fifer's main subject is incorporation of the West into American consciousness and into the American and world market systems. Incorporation meant competition, and Crofutt and other entrepreneurs, large and small, competed vigorously for traveler and tourist

dollars. Fifer writes vividly of that competition, and her careful analysis of the struggle between California and Colorado for those dollars provides a fresh comparative perspective on the "boom of the eighties" in southern California.

Fifer supports her conclusions with a wealth of fascinating detail. We learn, for instance, of the heavily-advertised and competitive "kite-shaped" and "balloon" routes that carried tourists through southern California on "All Day For a Dollar" rail trips designed to reveal the variety of the natural and cultural landscapes. A rich collection of photographs, maps, and reproductions of advertising ephemera fill the book, providing visual documentation of Fifer's thesis that the incorporation of the West into the world market represented one of the "most rapid and spectacular regional transformations the world has ever seen." That "spectacular" transformation had been guided in its early days by those like Crofutt, who saw a chance to attract capital into the West by providing careful and detailed descriptions of the land and its opportunities to travelers and investors. By the end of the century, however, corporations were increasingly in charge, as railroads distributed reams of free materials and the international Baedeker Company included the West in its first *Baedeker Guide to the United States*.

The term "sacred place" does not appear in *American Progress*, but the books of Sears and Fifer complement each other. Whether Americans sought solace in sublime natural settings or better jobs and profits in the "new country," they had to reach their destinations and they had to eat, drink, and gaze along the way. And that traveling, eating, drinking, and looking meant commercial opportunity to writers of guidebooks and sellers of goods.

Motoring Tourists and the Scenic West, 1903-1948, a catalog Michael Vinson prepared for a show at the De Golyer Library at Southern Methodist University, brings tourists into the twentieth century. Divided into five sections, the catalog provides brief and clearly written introductions to each section, as well as a listing of the materials comprising the exhibit. Those materials range from sales catalogs in Section I, "Select Your Car," to narrative accounts of early automobile travel in Section V, "We Motored West." Sections II, III, and IV center on "It Won't Start!," "How Do We Get There?," and "Let Someone Else Drive!" Both colored and black-and-white plates illustrate each of the sections, and the whole is presented in a handsome wrapper. The introductions are very informative. Vinson writes, for example, of highway associations organized by automobile manufacturers attempting to main-

tain that connection between commerce and tourism cultivated in those earlier days described by Sears and Fifer. Although *Motoring Tourists and the Scenic West* is an exhibition catalog adrift from its exhibition, it is well worth a careful look. The plates, the introductions, and the listing of the often scarce materials included in the exhibit make clear how much twentieth-century motoring tourists contributed to the incorporation of the West.

Each of these books informs us about travel, tourism, growth, and commerce in California and the West. The varied peoples who built the transportation systems, or who were displaced, ignored, or consigned to stock roles in the "Wild West" by the process of growth and tourism, remain largely unrecognized in the books, but not entirely so.

Each book is nicely put together and well-documented, with useful notes and, in the case of Fifer, a comprehensive bibliography. Unhappily, endnotes, rather than footnotes, appear in Sears and Fifer, but this seems to be the rule today. Although Earl Pomeroy's *In Search of the Golden West* remains indispensable to the student of western tourism, these three recent publications should not be overlooked by anyone interested in travel, tourism, or the Americanization of California and the West.

The Golden State: California History and Government.

By Andrew Rolle and John S. Gaines (Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 3rd ed., 1990, xii, 328 pp., \$21.95 cloth, \$15.95 paper.)

Readings in California Civilization.

By Howard A. DeWitt. (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 2nd ed., 1989, vii, 272 pp., \$22.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Donald H. Pflueger, Professor Emeritus, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, and Member, California Historical Resources Commission.

The third edition of Andrew Rolle and John S. Gaines's popular secondary text coincides with the twenty-fifth anniversary of its first edition, and it is better than ever. It is less detailed, but no less well-written, than Rolle's incomparable *California: A History*.

The first thing a reader notices is the photography, from the colored cover scene of the magnificent redwoods to dozens of new black-and-whites scattered throughout the text, carefully selected to capture the imagination. Each of the 12 chapters is followed by Study Suggestions, which include key phrases and terms, major personalities, and important geographic place names, as well as a short bibliography.

The text itself follows traditional lines for the first half of the volume, then come some new organizational patterns with such intriguing chapter titles as "East Meets West," "The Necessities of Life," and "California as Symbol and Myth." Since the book is also designed to meet the state requirements for the teaching of California government, the following chapters are "Consensus to Confrontation: From Warren to Deukmejian," "State Government in California," and "Politics, Usual and Unusual." The chapter on the framework of government would only be marginally adequate were it to stand alone, but the two chapters on either side give it both substance and dynamism.

In some respects the authors saved the best for last. Chapter 12, entitled "All That Glitters," touches on things that all contemporary Californians can identify with—movies, sports, amusement parks, and tourist attractions—without neglecting cultural and educational institutions or the environmental theme. The text ends with a provocative essay on "Mass Society's Challenges," at once frightening and promising. It lays it on the line that today's students have options in determining California's future, including new responsibilities their parents never had.

The Golden State is comprehensive on that which is significant, exceptionally well-written, accurate, concise, balanced, and destined to be even more popular with secondary students than its two earlier editions.

Howard A. DeWitt's collection of readings is no doubt intended to supplement a standard textbook in California history for use primarily by secondary and community college students. The selections range from the Indians to the Beach Boys.

There are neither Chapters nor Parts, but rather Issues. In each of eight Issues the number of readings ranges from two to seven, all thought-provoking and highly controversial. Each Issue has an introductory statement by DeWitt and a worksheet for students.

The author felt no obligation to present both sides of an issue, hence the selections bring out the case against Father Serra's canonization and, conversely, the suggestion that



Evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson of Los Angeles in the 1920s. Courtesy California State Library.

Cesar Chavez receive the Nobel Peace Prize. The term "farm fascism" is used with no positive counterpart. Conspirators, exploiters, and villains abound; the heroes are the likes of labor leaders and civil right activists. Praise is heaped on Helen Gahagan Douglas, W. Byron Rumford, Navy-enlisted blacks, Filipino lettuce pickers, IWW types, and feminist liberal Mabel Craft Deering. Oddly, the fate of Japanese Americans during World War II is skipped over. Equally strange, the Sacramento scene gets little attention, as does southern California, though San Diego is mentioned for its high suicide rate and Los Angeles as the home turf of Sister Aimee and surfers. The locus for most issues is the San Francisco Bay Area, the mining camps, and the Central Valley agricultural region.

The term "California Civilization" conjures up a broad spectrum of topics beyond the quest for social and economic justice. Besides the winning of battles in that arena, there is all too little material presented in the book to evoke community or statewide pride. The arts and cultural attainments are ignored. The selections tend to concentrate on the sordid aspects of

our past; these, certainly, need to be known, but they should be counterbalanced by subjects of a positive nature. The resolution of conflict does make more interesting reading than what emerges from compromise and cooperation, not to mention individual achievements that benefit all Californians. Except for the time span involved, this reading matter tends to be one-dimensional, the pursuit of a sixties-era protest agenda.

Admittedly, too much California history has been written to stress scenic wonders, the romance of our Hispanic days, the legends of the Gold Rush, the halcyon days of the early twentieth century, and the dreamy and futuristic qualities that set us apart from the rest of the nation. Nonetheless, it is possible to go overboard with debunking by citing case after case of human greed, exploitation of labor, racial strife, and the rape of our environment. This ultimately could contribute to a sense of victimization, helplessness, indifference, and civic apathy.

Before adopting this or any similar text, teachers need to reflect on their own philosophy of education, and know the maturity of their students in terms of what will foster positive community participation or, conversely, create cynicism. They need to review what is or is not given in class, then decide just what it is that students should carry with them in knowledge and attitudes when they leave the classroom. This volume may, or may not, fill the bill.

Headlands: The Marin Coast at the Golden Gate.

By Miles DeCoster, et al. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989, \$39.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Richard H. Dillon, Professor of History, Fromm Institute, University of San Francisco, and author of High Steel.

The subtitle makes the subject matter of this extra-illustrated book clear to potential, but distant, readers. The Marin Headlands have been little-known until recent years because they comprised an off-limits Army reservation, plus the private property of Portuguese (Azorean) dairy ranchers. Once the habitat of the Coast Artillery's long "rifles" (cannon) and unique disappearing guns—meant to keep the Imperial Japanese Navy at bay—the promontory in post-World-War-II days became a nest of Nike missile sites. When the forts were eventually phased out as obsolete, the peninsula was inte-

grated into the National Park Service's Golden Gate National Recreation Area (GGNRA).

Besides the obvious hiking, botanizing, and photographing opportunities of its open country, the Headlands section of GGNRA hosts the Marine Mammal Center, which rescues distressed seals and sea lions; a youth hostel; the Headlands Institute (an environmental educational center akin to the Yosemite Institute); the Headlands Center for the Arts, which sponsored this volume; and, for birders, perhaps the best natural observatory for migrating raptors—red-tailed hawks, ospreys, and peregrine falcons—in the country.

But this book is really an excellent introduction to, and overview of, the 15,000 acres of semi-wilderness just across the "Gate" from "Frisco," not the institutions that it holds. For all of its aging gun emplacements, it is, at first blush, a "barren" and lonely moorland, woefully short of trees. Like Devon's Dartmoor, however, familiarity breeds the opposite of contempt; the landscape really grows on you. Even though it can be shrouded in dense sea fog, or blasted by the prevailing westerlies, you are surrounded by the Pacific and its San Francisco and Richardson bay extensions. Salt water is never far away. And the mis-named Pacific, almost never passive, has a far more dramatic shore than, say, Cape Cod. There are not only seascapes, cloud formations, and sunsets, but the excitement of great combers rolling offshore and surf exploding into spray on cliffs, "stacks," rocks, coves, and beaches.

DeCoster, the book's compiler-designer, gets top billing, but it is a cooperative effort, and Paul Metcalf actually wrote the brief text of human and natural history. Larry Sultan and Mike Mandel searched Defense Department and National Archives files for historical photographs of the forts (Baker, Barry, and Cronkhite). Mark Klett signed on to photograph the Headlands today, often the specific sites shown in the Army's old pictures of batteries, barbettes, and casemates under construction.

Wisely, the compilers sought the aid of local experts, like naturalist Harold Gilliam, military historian Bud Halsey, geologist Clyde Wahrhaftig, park historian Gordon Chappell, and long-time Sausalito residents Gene Poole and Jack Tracy. Wonderful bonuses are the interviews with Army vets who served at Fort Barry, and the linking of documentary photos of the batteries' construction (ca. 1938) with the present-day views via informal snapshots by, and of, World War II service men and women.

Both text and photo-selection are impressionistic, but fit the point of view of the album very well. The complete lack of

accent and diacritical marks on Spanish words is less annoying than an occasional off-hand (or "half-astute") opinion on the area's history, such as accusing (twice) Capt. William A. Richardson of swindling and graft, without explanation, much less substantiation, of the charge. Copyediting, as usual these days, is not so hot: Sausalito is said to mean both little "yellow" and willow thicket; "Ranchero" is used when "rancho" is meant; Battery Spencer is occasionally "Spenser"; Fort Ross's *Fuerte de los Rusos* becomes "Fuerto de los Russos;" Governor Pablo Solá is "De Sola," etc.

There is a brief bibliography, but no index, to this pretty good book. As to why such a peculiarly Bay Area book was published in Albuquerque and not Berkeley or Palo Alto—*¿Quién sabe?*

Picturing California: A Century of Photographic Genius.

Edited by Therese Heyman, with an essay by Bill Barich. (San Francisco: Chronicle Books/Oakland Museum, 1989, 152 pp., \$35.00 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Peter E. Palmquist, historian of California photography, Arcata.

Once again The Oakland Museum is to be commended for its ongoing interest and commitment to exhibiting fine California photography, especially so, in this sesquicentennial year of the medium. This accompanying exhibition catalog provides us with a fine and lasting record of this notable event.

While one may quibble with *Picturing California's* photograph selection, the images are largely representative of the California genre. Image pairing, such as Karl Struss's "In The Southland, Mt. Baldy, California" (p. 48), with Alice Burr's "Untitled" (p. 49), provide the viewer ample opportunity to compare differences of photographic vision within the same or similar subject contexts. I was especially pleased to see so many vintage nineteenth-century photographs reproduced in full color.

I also enjoyed Bill Barich's free ranging essay, "Acts of Attention." Despite taking a number of artistic liberties with the facts, he has woven a charmingly warm look at the myth and substance of California. "Everything worth photographing is

in California," wrote Edward Weston at his most myopic. Barich wisely asks: "Where else is geography so wedded to fantasy?"

Other topics Barich examines include pictorialism (mainly Anne Brigman), photojournalism (Dorothea Lange and Robert Frank), urban documentation (Robert Adams), and so on through Edward Weston and Ansel Adams to the newer crop of California landscape photographers such as Richard Misrach.

Nor does Barich neglect California kitsch of our most recent time: "A palm tree isn't just part of a desert ecology anymore; it's a piece of furniture for a stage-set, trucked to L.A. from a farm somewhere, and deposited on the grounds of a Sheraton Hotel that's under construction."

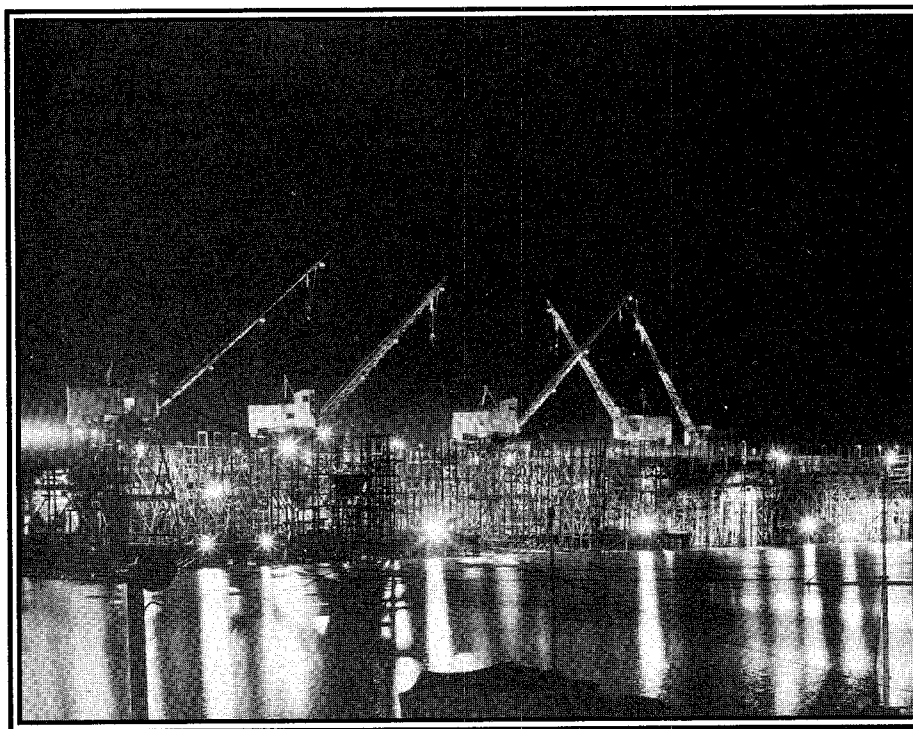
The book also radiates fine technical quality—good paper, printing, and design. Overall it is a fine addition to anyone's California bookshelf.

Henry J. Kaiser: Builder in the Modern American West.

By Mark S. Foster. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989, xiv, 358 pp. \$29.95, cloth.)

Reviewed by Gerald D. Nash, Presidential Professor of History at the University of New Mexico and author of World War II and the West: Reshaping the Economy.

The annals of California history are replete with pioneers and heroes. But in the minds of many who are interested in the history of the Golden State, such individuals peopled earlier eras—ranging from sixteenth-century explorers to gold miners and overland migrants of the nineteenth century. That a corporate age such as the twentieth century might also spawn figures larger than life is a perception that has not yet



At his Richmond, California, shipyard, industrialist Henry J. Kaiser and his thousands of workers built hundreds of Liberty Ships that helped the United States to victory in World War II. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

imbedded itself very deeply into the popular image of California's past. Yet as the twentieth century draws to a close, we are becoming more aware that individuals only recently considered as contemporaries have now, by sheer passage of time, been transformed into historic personages. Such is the case with Henry J. Kaiser. Of course, not all readers of this fine biography of Kaiser by Mark Foster will share the author's vision of him as a heroic giant. Kaiser is as controversial in death as he was in life. But few can deny his enormous impact on the American West—and particularly on California. It was he who made important contributions to California's economy during World War II and for a quarter of a century thereafter, in shipbuilding, aluminum, steel, and housing. And the paths that he blazed in the field of health care created significant precedents for all the nation. Thus, while the significance of Kaiser's activities can be viewed from various perspectives, he is not one whose importance can be easily overlooked.

That point is convincingly demonstrated in this comprehensive biography that Foster wrote with the family's support. He was among the first to have access to the Kaiser Papers, which are now at the Bancroft Library, although the family pruned some personal items. Foster also exploited many manuscript collections of Kaiser's contemporaries, and used important archival records of wartime agencies, most in the National Archives. The result is a well-written and thoroughly researched volume, the first comprehensive work on Kaiser that does him justice.

In sixteen well-crafted chapters Foster skillfully leads his readers into the hectic and active life style of his subject. He carefully details the German background of Kaiser's forebears, and chronicles his somewhat uneventful youth in upstate New York. Kaiser was not one to confine himself to a single career. He began his career as a stock boy in a dry goods store, but by the time he was sixteen his restless energy and his family's poverty led him to seek his fortunes as a salesman for a photography studio. Four years later he established his own business in the field and was on his way as a young, prospering entrepreneur. Within a few years he discerned greater opportunities elsewhere, however. Foster details his entry into the road construction business by the time of the First World War. Soon thereafter he became involved with even greater construction projects such as water works and dams. With his selection as one of the Six Companies chosen to build Hoover Dam, he established himself as one of America's premier contractors. But Foster devotes most attention in this book to Kaiser's ventures in shipbuilding, steel, aluminum, and aircraft

during the Second World War. The last third of the study details Kaiser's activities in automobiles, home building, and development of Hawaii. Foster also describes the health care programs in an interesting style, and concludes the biography with a sympathetic account of Kaiser's final years.

This is a positive portrait of Kaiser. Foster places him in the first rank of American business leaders in the twentieth-century West, and as one of California's premier industrialists. The essence of Kaiser's genius was not only his practicality, but his vision, and his absolute faith in human ingenuity. If he could not satisfy carping ideologues of a later day because of his faith in capitalism, if he failed to impress bureaucratic technocrats who faulted him for unorthodox management techniques, perhaps he understood better than they that the spark of human creativity was created not by elaborate economic systems or ponderous bureaucracies but by imaginative individuals.

Mark Twain's Letters, Volume 2: 1867-1868.

Edited by Harriet Elinor Smith, Richard Bucci, and Lin Salamo. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1990, xxvii, 672 pp., \$39.95.)

Reviewed by Gary Scharnhorst, Professor of English and American Studies, University of New Mexico, Co-editor of American Literary Realism, and Editor of Bret Harte's California.

This volume is both a pleasure to read and a delight to review. While Mark Twain addressed few of these 150-plus personal and business letters to California correspondents, and while he wrote few of them during his abbreviated return to San Francisco in 1868, he repeatedly reminisces in them about his friends on the coast and the years he lived there. "I think that much of my conduct on the Pacific Coast was not of a character to recommend me to the respectful regard of a high eastern civilization," he confesses to his prospective father-in-law Jarvis Langdon in December 1868, "but it was not considered blameworthy there, perhaps."

These letters, nearly forty of them previously unpublished, cover the period between Twain's arrival in New York City from the West in January 1867, through the celebrated *Quaker City* excursion to Europe and the Holy Land in the summer and fall of that year and his subsequent courtship of the fair Olivia Langdon, and his lecture tour throughout the northeastern

and midwestern states in the winter of 1868. These two years were lively ones in Twain's career—"Am pretty well known, now—intend to be better known," he writes his mother shortly after his return from Europe. Moreover, these letters have been fully and painstakingly annotated by the editors. In fact, the letters comprise only about a third of these pages, with the notes, appendices, editorial apparatus, and nearly ninety illustrations filling out the book. It is an impressive achievement, a definitive edition that richly deserves its imprimatur from the Center for Scholarly Editions of the Modern Language Association. It will be a standard reference for decades to come.

Of course, the letters are also remarkably entertaining, by turns rollicking and bawdy, poignant and sentimental. In the summer of 1868, for example, Twain facetiously writes an old friend, the proprietor of a New York rubber-goods store, to order "one dozen Odorless Rubber Cundrums [i.e., condoms]—I don't mind them being odorless—I can supply the odor myself." At virtually the same moment, he is writing to Livy Langdon, who has recently declined his first proposal of marriage, that he "would be less than a man if I went on in my old careless way while you were praying for me." Written in a distinctly different voice than the other letters in this volume, Twain's love letters to Livy record, if not exactly a drama of conversion, at least an amusing drama of self-deception. Like Tom Sawyer, who joins the Cadets of Temperance for a week or two, Twain resolves in late November 1867, at the age of 32, to "touch no more spirituous liquors after this day (though I have made no promises)." He admits to Livy that he is even "afraid that you'll stop me from smoking, some day." Though assailed by religious doubt, he pledges to become a Christian, buy into a newspaper, and settle in one city to prove his worth to the genteel Langdons. His effusive letters to Livy during the first months of their courtship, however crude and unpolished the prose, are a touching counterpoint to his dark fulminations later on the damned human race. In all, *Mark Twain's Letters* is scholarship at its best—charming and readable texts, informative and accessible commentary, all at a reasonable price.



"I think that much of my conduct on the Pacific Coast was not of a character to recommend me to the respectful regard of a high eastern civilization." (Mark Twain to his prospective father-in-law, December 1868.) *Courtesy California State Library.*

The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith: His Personal Account of the Journey to California, 1826-1827.

Edited by George R. Brooks. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989, 259 pp., \$8.50 paper.)

Reviewed by Gerald Thompson, Professor of History at the University of Toledo and author of *Edward F. Beale and the American West*.

According to this book's back cover, "Jedediah S. Smith was to western exploration what Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Edison were to the world of invention—a legendary figure kiting into the unknown, a lighter of the dark." Despite the tortured metaphor, this reviewer is reluctant to place Smith in the same category with the great inventors, or even with explorers such as Coronado, Lewis and Clark, and John C. Frémont. Nevertheless he was an important historical figure, and Jedediah Smith's career deserves the attention of everyone interested in the American West.

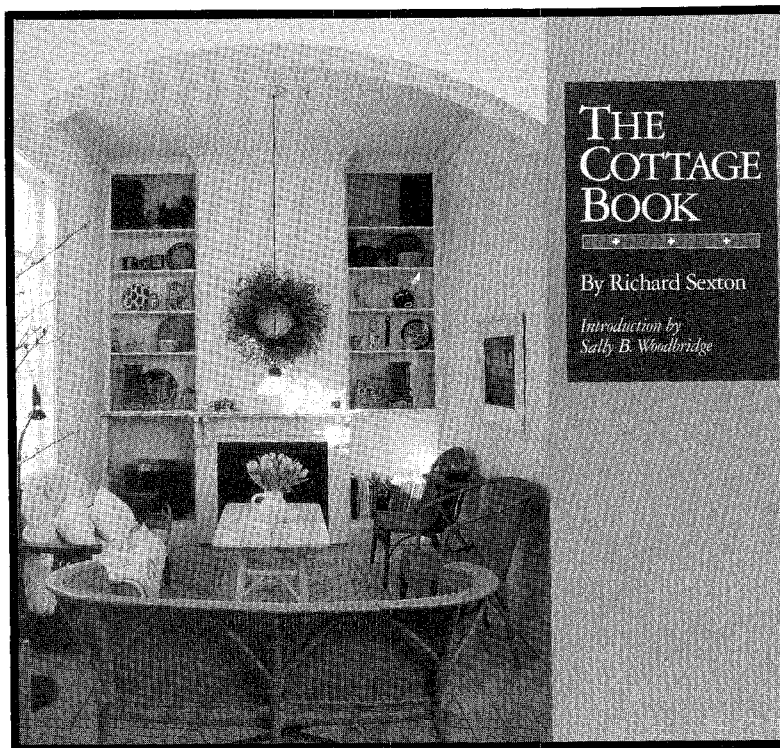
First published in 1977 by the Arthur H. Clark Co., *The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith* makes widely available a previously unknown journal of the mountain man, covering his expedition in 1826 to California and his return the following year to the Great Salt Lake. For decades, scholars of western exploration and the fur trade have understood the significance of this journey—it was the first overland trek to California by an American—but the broader importance of Smith's trip, and indeed his entire career, remains a matter of debate.

In his introduction, George R. Brooks points out that Smith's pathbreaking travels were forgotten in the decades after his death in 1832, and not until this century did historians begin to recognize the premier role Smith had played as a western trailblazer. The resurrection of Smith's historical reputation was in large measure the work of Dale Morgan's important biography, *Jedediah S. Smith and the Opening of the West* (1953). But it seems to me that the historical pendulum has now swung too far in the opposite direction and Smith's accomplishments have been emphasized a bit too much. For example, the route that he took to southern California in 1826 never received

heavy traffic from nineteenth-century American pioneers, although the western end of Smith's trail did become incorporated into the Old Spanish Trail and E. F. Beale's wagon road. When Smith left California in the spring of 1827 to return to the Great Salt Lake, he negotiated the Sierra Nevada via Ebbetts Pass, then headed due east across the desert desolation of central Nevada. This took Smith and his two companions some 100 to 180 miles south of the Humboldt River, where later emigrants would follow the California Trail. Smith's greatest contribution to western trailblazing came two years before the Southwest Expedition, when Crow Indians in Wyoming pointed out a passage around the southern end of the Wind River Mountains. His "discovery" of South Pass (previously used by the returning Astorians as well as thousands of unnamed Indians) provided a key traverse across the Continental Divide and foreshadowed future travel over the Oregon Trail.

In truth, Smith's historical importance lies not so much in discovery, as in the journals and maps he produced regarding his expeditions. The editor of this volume makes it clear that Smith recognized that he could profit from publishing his exploits. James O. Pattie, of course, had achieved notable success in this regard, but Jedediah Smith could never equal Pattie in telling the tall yarns so desired by eastern readers; consequently his journals, unlike Pattie's *Personal Narrative*, stand as valuable historical documents for geographers, historians, and anthropologists. When, for example, Smith details his encounter with the Mojave Indians, the remarks compare favorably with the observation of professional anthropologists a century later. Furthermore, his description of life at the San Gabriel Mission and at San Diego add much to our knowledge of southern California in the 1820s.

Overall, this book makes a significant contribution to the history of exploration in the early nineteenth century. George Brooks's editing of *The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith* is excellent: he has attempted to locate precisely Smith's path to and from California, and his introduction provides useful background information. However, the most important aspect of this publication is Smith's own words. Throughout the journal, one gains a sense that Smith was a true leader of men, but a leader who was serious about his business and far removed from the romantic image of the mountain man.



The interior of this California Italianate cottage illustrates "the cottage form at its most quintessential. . . . The living area is a particularly fine example of the coziness that cottage scale provides." *From The Cottage Book, by Richard Sexton, introduction by Sally B. Woodbridge, published by Chronicle Books, 1990. Courtesy Chronicle Books.*

The Cottage Book

By Richard Sexton. (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1989, 119pp., \$28.95 cloth, \$16.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Anne Bloomfield, consultant in architectural history and member, San Francisco Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board.

Architectural photographer Richard Sexton has given us a small size coffee table book. The photographs are beautiful, the colors impressive; they might be so many layouts for *Architectural Digest*. The text consists mostly of long photo captions.

Sexton emphasizes modern adaptations of small living spaces, every one picture-perfect. Four of the book's eight sections treat historical cottages in San Francisco; one appropriates houseboats to the type; and one looks elsewhere in the Bay Area. Another section features Maybeck houses in the Berkeley hills, works that this reviewer cannot accept as "cottages." The last section explores recent cottages by architects Jeremy Kotas and Donald MacDonald. In a preface Sexton defines a "cottage" as a single-story dwelling with 150 to 1500 square feet, but he also demands "simplicity of form, rustic charm, and delicate sensitivity to site" (p. 5). For him, "cottage" is a term of endearment and a state of mind.

The book provides little historical information about the cottages. Where owners knew accurate history, Sexton is accurate, as in crediting Col. Charles Taylor for developing

Cottage Row in 1882 (p. 13). Elsewhere, Sexton passes on disprovable rumor, as when he states that a house on Macondray Lane "was originally built for sailors around 1890" (p. 23), but historic photos show this part of the lane totally destroyed in the 1906 fire. Also on Macondray, he ignores another illustration's true legend: here lived the "patrician radical" Anita Whitney. He also misplaces Carville, the beach-front community of abandoned streetcars-turned-habitations.

Sexton does not seem to care about historic preservation. He calls an Italianate house "Elizabethan" (p. 13, 29) and sees board-and-batten siding where there is none. He likes the rearrangement of a building's windows and doors (p. 36) and he heartily approves "the most gussied up refugee shack in the city" (p. 61).

Two longer essays bracket the photographs. Architectural historian Sally Woodbridge's introduction attempts a historical frame for Sexton's wide-ranging notion of "cottage." Donald MacDonald closes the book with an argument for solving the problem of affordable housing by building several small cottages on each available lot.

Visually, the book is a gem. Delightful chapter frontispieces were adapted from a rug design by Charles Sumner Greene. The design appears in its original colors on the title page. Then each chapter begins with a full-page reproduction seen as if through a lens of one of the original colors: aqua, green, tan, or mauve.

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Charles N. Johnson, Librarian, Ventura County Museum of History and Art

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Arnold, Jeanne E. *Craft Specialization in the Prehistoric Channel Islands, California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989. \$26.50 (paperback) ISBN 0-520-09726-2. Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Baumgartner, Jerome W. *Rancho Santa Margarita Remembered: An Oral History*. Santa Barbara: Fithian Press, 1989. \$17.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-931832-23-3. Order from: Fithian Press; Post Office Box 1525; Santa Barbara, CA 93102.

Bigler, David L., ed. *The Gold Discovery Journal of Azariah Smith*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990. \$17.50 (cloth) ISBN 0-87480-346-2. Order from: University of Utah Press; 101 University Services Bldg.; Salt Lake City, UT 84112.

Blackburn, Thomas C., and Travis Hudson. *Time's Flotsam: Overseas Collections of California Indian Material Culture*. \$34.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-87919-117-1; \$24.95 (paper) ISBN 0-87919-116-3. Order from: Ballena Press; 823 Valparaiso Avenue; Menlo Park, CA 94025.

Brilliant, Ashleigh. *The Great Car Craze: How Southern California Collided with the Automobile in the 1920's*. Santa Barbara: Woodbridge Press, 1989. \$19.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-88007-172-9. Order from: Woodbridge Press; Post Office Box 6189; Santa Barbara, California 93160

Cunningham, Richard W. *California Indian Watercraft*. San Luis Obispo: EZ Nature

Books, 1989. \$12.95 (paper) ISBN 0-945092-01-6. Order from: EZ Nature Books; Post Office Box 4206; San Luis Obispo, CA 94303-4206.

Delgado, James P. *To California By Sea: A Maritime History of the California Gold Rush*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990. \$24.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-87249-673-2. Order from: University of South Carolina Press; 1716 College St.; Columbia, South Carolina 29208.

Gemini, Ronald, and Richard Hitchman. *Romualdo Pacheco: Illustrious Californio*. Second edition. Arroyo Grande: Bear Flag Books, 1990. \$12.95 (paper) ISBN 0-939919-27-3. Order from: Bear Flag Books; Post Office Box 840; Arroyo Grande, CA 93421-0840.

Gould, Annah Maud. *A Tempestuous Voyage: The Diary of Annah Maud Gould's Trip Aboard the Ship Berlin*. Edited by Laura Penny. Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1987. \$9.50 (paper) ISBN 1-55613-030-9. Order from: Heritage Books; 1540E Pointer Ridge Pl.; Bowie, MD 20716.

King, William. *The San Gabriel Valley: Chronicle of An Abundant Land: An Illustrated History*. Chatsworth: Windsor Publications, 1990. \$27.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-

89781-344-8. Order from: Windsor Publications; Post Office Box 2500; Chatsworth, CA 91313.

Klages, Ellen. *Taking the Waters: A History of Harbin Hot Springs*. Middletown: Harbin Springs Publishing, 1990. \$10.95 (paper) ISBN 0-944202-01-2. Order from: Harbin Springs Publishing; Post Office Box 1132; Middletown, CA 95461.

Krieger, Daniel E. *San Luis Obispo County: Looking Backward into the Middle Kingdom*. Revised edition. San Luis Obispo: EZ Nature Books, 1990. \$18.95 (paper) ISBN 0-945092-11-3. Order from: EZ Nature Books; Post Office Box 4206; San Luis Obispo, CA 93403-4206

Leland, Dorothy Kupcha. *A Short History of Sacramento*. San Francisco: Don't Call it Frisco Press, 1988. \$9.95 (paper) ISBN 0-938530-40-2. Order from: Lexikos Publishing; Post Office Box 296, Lagunitas, CA 94938.

LeMenager, Charles R. *Ramona and Round About: A History of San Diego County's Little Known Back Country*. Ramona: Eagle Peak Pub. Co., 1989. \$18.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-9611102-1-X; \$11.95 (paper) ISBN 0-9611102-2-8. Order from: Eagle Peak Pub. Co.; 15703 Vista Vicente Dr.; Ramona, CA 92065.

Levy, JoAnn. *They Saw the Elephant: Women in the California Gold Rush*. Hamden, Ct.: Shoe String Press, 1990. \$27.50 (cloth) ISBN 0-208-02273-2. Order from: Shoe String Press; Post Office Box 4327; Hamden, CT 06514.

McDow, George N. *Booms & Mushrooms: The Saga of Susanville and the McDow Boys from 1910 to 1930*. Susanville: Lahontan Images, 1988. \$12.95 (paper) ISBN 0-938373-05-6. Order from: Lahontan Images; Post Office Box 1093; Susanville, CA 96130.

Mather, Ruth E., and Fred E. Boswell. *Gold Camp Desperados: A Study of Violence, Crime and Punishment on the Mining Frontier*. San Jose: History West Publishing Co., 1990. \$23.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-9625069-0-7. Order from: History West Publishing Co.; Post Office Box 612066; San Jose, CA 95161.

Nasatir, Abraham Phineas, and Gary Elwyn Monell. *British Activities in California and the Pacific Coast of North America to 1860: An Archival Calendar Guide*. San Diego: San Diego State University Press, 1990. \$175.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-916304-85-X. Order from: San Diego State University Press; 5189 College Ave.; San Diego, CA 92182.

Parke, Charles R. *Dreams to Dust: A Diary of the California Gold Rush, 1840-1850*. Edited by James E. Davis. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989. \$33.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-8032-3674-3. Order from: University of Nebraska Press; 901 N. 17th St.; Lincoln, NE 68588-0520.

The Quake of '89: As Seen by the News Staff of the San Francisco Chronicle. Introduction by Herb Caen; epilogue by Randy Shilts. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1990. \$9.95 (paper) ISBN 0-87701-

571-1. Order from: Chronicle Books; 275 Fifth St.; San Francisco, CA 94103.

Reynolds, Richard Derby, ed. *Squibob, An Early California Humorist*. San Francisco: Squibob Press, 1989. \$15.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-9618577-5-7; \$10.95 (paper) ISBN 0-9618577-6-5. Order from: Squibob Press, Inc.; Post Office Box 421523; San Francisco, CA 94142-1523.

Ross, Joseph. *Krotona of Old Hollywood, 1866-1913: Volume 1—In Memory of A.P. Warrington*. Montecito: El Montecito Oaks Press, 1989. \$22.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-925943-11-8. Order from: El Montecito Oaks Press Inc.; Post Office Box 5381; Montecito, CA 93150.

Sanchez, Joseph P. *Spanish Bluecoats: The Catalonia Volunteers in Northwestern New Spain, 1767-1810*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990. \$30.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-8263-1195-4; \$15.95 (paper) ISBN 0-8263-1207-1. Order from: University of New Mexico Press; Journalism Bldg., Suite 220; Albuquerque, NM 87131.

Starr, Kevin, Paul Mills, and Stephen Vincent, eds. *O California! Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century California Landscapes and Observations*. San Francisco: Bedford Arts, Publishers, 1989. \$100.00 (slipcase) ISBN 0-938491-33-4; \$85.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-938491-20-2. Order from: Consortium Book Sales & Distribution; 287 E. Sixth St., Suite 365; St. Paul, MN 55101

Starr, Kevin. *The Rise of Los Angeles as an American Bibliographical Center*. Introduction by Gardner Haskell. Sacramento: California State Library Foundation, 1989. \$5.95 (paper) ISBN 0-929722-26-4. Order from: California State Library Foundation; Post Office Box 942837; Sacramento, CA 94237-0001.

Tauber, Everett O. *San Francisco: Vignette of History*. New York: Vantage Press, 1989. \$10.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-533-08319-2. Order from: Vantage Press; 516 W. 34th St.; New York, NY 10001.

Vane, Sylvia Brakke, and Lowell John Bean. *California Indians: Primary Resources/ A Guide to Manuscripts, Artifacts, Documents, Serials, Music and Illustrations*. Revised edition. \$45.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-87919-118-X; \$33.00 (paper) ISBN 0-87919-117-1 (shipping and handling, \$2.00). Order from: Ballena Press; 823 Valparaiso Avenue; Menlo Park, CA 94025.

Verardo, Jennie D., and Denzil Verardo. *The Salinas Valley: An Illustrated History*. Chatsworth: Windsor Publications Inc., 1989. \$29.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-89781-309-X, 5237. Order from: Windsor Publication, Inc.; Post Office Box 2500; Chatsworth, CA 91313.

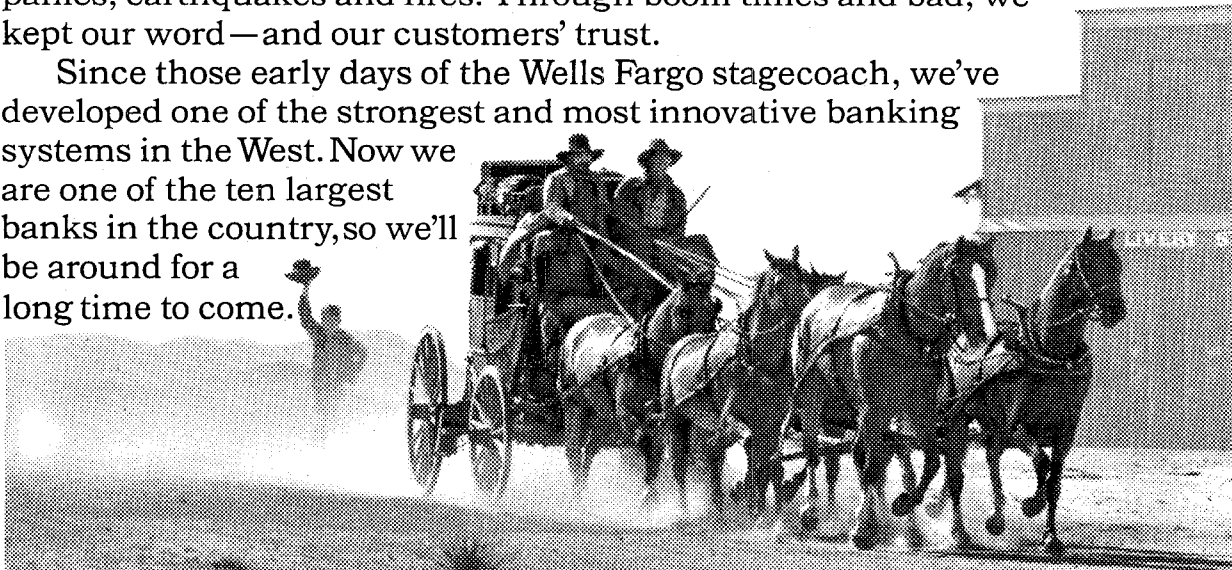
Worcester, Don. *A Visit from Father and Other Tales of the Mojave*. College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 1990. \$15.95 (paper) ISBN 0-89096-429-7. Order from: Texas A&M University Press; Lewis St.; University Campus; College Station, TX 77843.

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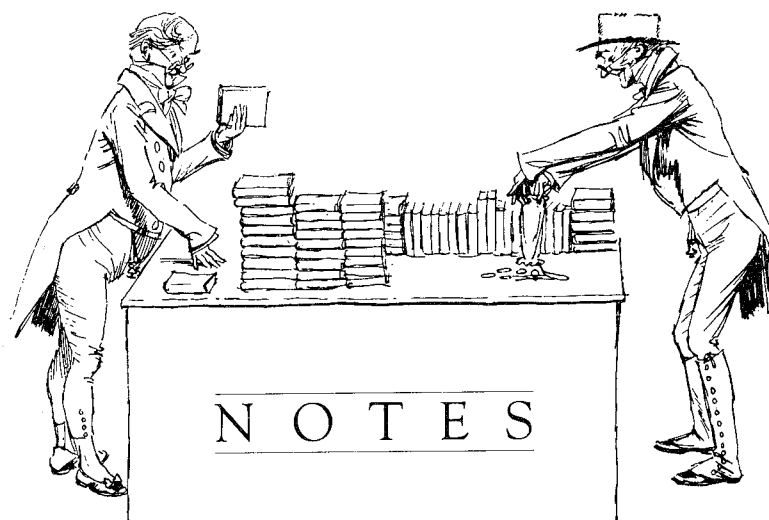
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MADISON, "Barefooted," pp. 236-249

1. Thomas B. Elliott, History of the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association [ca. 1875], p. 1, Thomas B. Elliott Papers, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
2. Pasadena Star News, August 14, 1949.
3. Charles Nordhoff, *California: For Health, Pleasure, and Residence: A Book for Travellers and Settlers* (New York, 1872), 119, 121, 125-26, 132. For examples of specific references to Nordhoff see Daniel M. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Nov. 16 [1873?], Elliott Papers; Harry G. Bennett to family, Nov. 3, 1873, California Colony of Indiana Papers, Pasadena Historical Society, Pasadena, California. For the book's general appeal see Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913*, Maurice H. and Marco R. Newmark, eds. (Boston, 1930), 445, 624.
4. Nordhoff, *California*, 174-81. Quotation on page 178.
5. Oscar Osburn Winther, "The Colony System of Southern California," *Agricultural History* 27 (July 1953): 94-103; Merlin Stonehouse, *John Wesley North and the Reform Frontier* (Minneapolis, 1965), 211-32.
6. Plan of the California Colony of Indiana, File 64, California Colony of Indiana Papers, Pasadena Historical Society.
7. Elliott, History of the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, 2.
8. John H.B. Nowland, *Early Reminiscences of Indianapolis...* (Indianapolis, 1870), 415-18; Jacob Piatt Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis: The History, the Industries, the Institutions, and the People of a City of Homes* (2 vols., Chicago, 1910), I, 268, 346, 512; Henry Markham Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years* (Los Angeles, 1964), 20; Dun and Bradstreet Credit Ledgers, Indiana, Vol. 69, p. 439 (Baker Library, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, Boston, Massachusetts; microfilm copy, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis). The familial relationship between the Elliotts and Daniel Berry is not clear. Some Pasadena histories indicate that Berry and Thomas Elliott were brothers-in-law, but there is some confusion on this point. It is clear in his correspondence that Berry had a warm, familial relationship with the Elliotts.
9. California Colony of Indiana, Articles of Association, n.d., File 64, California Colony of Indiana Papers. [This document has no date, and it is not possible to be certain that it is the complete list of all subscribers to the colony.] See also California Colony of Indiana, subscribers certificate, July 8, 1873, *ibid.*; Receipt from Indianapolis Journal Company for California Colony, *ibid.*; Treasurer's Receipt Book, *ibid.*
10. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Aug. 21, 1873, Elliott Papers.
11. Los Angeles Daily Star, October 15, 1873. See also Robert W. Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1967), 19-23, 40.
12. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Sept. 18, 1873, Elliott Papers. See also Berry to J.M. Matthews, Sept. 27, 1873, *ibid.*
13. Quoted in Hiram A. Reid, *History of Pasadena...* (Pasadena, 1895), 123.
14. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Sept. 12, 1873, Elliott Papers. See also John E. Baur, *The Health Seekers of Southern California, 1870-1900* (San Marino, California, 1959).
15. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Sept. 12, 1873, Elliott Papers.
16. *Ibid.*, Sept. 18, 1873. See also *ibid.*, Oct. 9, 1873.
17. Berry to Helen Elliott, Nov. 7, 1873, *ibid.* See also *ibid.*, Sept. 24, 1873.
18. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Oct. 11, 1873, *ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*, Sept. 18, 1873.
20. Berry to Helen Elliott, Sept. 23, 1873, *ibid.*
21. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Nov. 16 [1873?], *ibid.*
22. Elliott, History of the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, 2.
23. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Oct. 31, 1873, Elliott Papers.
24. *Ibid.*, Oct. 15, 1873.
25. A copy of the "California Cypher," undated, is in the Elliott Papers. See also Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Sept. 19, 1873, *ibid.*
26. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Oct. 15, 1873, *ibid.*
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28. D.C. Bergundthall to Ruddell, Oct. 7, 1873, *ibid.*
29. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Oct. 19, 1873, Elliott Papers. No copy of this circular has been located.
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31. *Ibid.*, Oct. 20, 1873. See also *ibid.*, Sept. 18, 26, 1873.
32. *Ibid.*, Oct. 14, 1873.
33. *Ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1873.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*, Sept. 20, 1873.
36. *Ibid.*, Oct. 30, 1873.
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38. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Nov. 4, 1873, Elliott Papers.
39. *Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1873.
40. California Colony of Indiana, Articles of Association; J.W. Wood, *Pasadena, California: Historical and Personal: A Complete History of the Organization of the Indiana Colony* (n.p., 1917), 50-51.
41. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Nov. 22, 1873, Elliott Papers.

42. Berry to Helen Elliott, Nov. 24, 1873, *ibid.*
43. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Nov. 20, 1873, *ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*, Nov. 26, 1873.
45. *Ibid.*, Dec. 20, 1873.
46. *Ibid.*, Nov. 26, 1873.
47. *Ibid.*, Nov. 27, 1873.
48. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott and Calvin Fletcher, Jr., Nov. 29, 1873; Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Dec. 6, 14, 1873; J.M. Matthews to Berry, Dec. 1, 1873, all in Elliott Papers.
49. Croft Diary, Dec. 3, 1873.
50. *Ibid.*, Dec. 18, 1873. See also *ibid.*, Dec. 26, 1873.
51. *Ibid.*, Dec. 25, 1873. See also *ibid.*, Dec. 29, 1873; Deed, John S. Griffin to Thomas F. Croft, Dec. 26, 1873, Elliott Papers.
52. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Nov. 26, 1873, Elliott Papers; Croft Diary, Dec. 26, 1873; Dun and Bradstreet Credit Ledgers, Vol. 67, p. 251; Gayle Thornbrough and Paula Corpuz, eds., *The Diary of Calvin Fletcher: Vol. IX, 1865-1866* (Indianapolis, 1983), 267-68.
53. Fletcher to Elliott, Dec. 31, 1873, Elliott Papers.
54. Quoted in Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 126-27.
55. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, n.d. [April, 1874?], Elliott Papers. See also *ibid.*, Jan. 13, April 19, 1874; Elliott, History of the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, 4, *ibid.*
56. Jeanne C. Carr, "Pasadena—The Crown of the Valley," *Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California* III (1893): 81-82; Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 108-11; Elliott, History of the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, 4-5, Elliott papers; Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years*, 32-33.
57. Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 124, 411; Mary Borgerding, "Judge Benjamin Smith Eaton," *Pasadena Historical Society Newsletter* (June, 1985).
58. Unidentified newspaper clipping, attached to Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Dec. 20, 1873, Elliott Papers.
59. Berry to Elliott, Dec. 18, 1873, *ibid.*
60. *Ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1874.
61. Berry to Helen Elliott, Feb. 15, 1874, *ibid.*
62. Taliesin Evans, "Orange Grove Culture in California," *Overland Monthly* 12 (March 1874): 235-44; John G. Downey, "More About Orange Culture," *Overland Monthly* 12 (June 1874): 560-62.
63. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott and Fletcher, March 28, 1874, Elliott Papers. See also Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Dec. 20, 1873, Jan. 13, Feb. 5, 1874, *ibid.*; Berry to L.J. and T.J. Lockhart, April 16, 1874, File 22, Lockhart Letters, Pasadena Historical Society; Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years*, 36-37.
64. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Jan. 13, 1874, Elliott Papers.
65. Berry to Helen Elliott, Jan. 20, 1874, *ibid.*
66. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, May 18, 1874, *ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*, April 19, 1874.
68. *Ibid.*, May 5, 14, 16, 1874.
69. Berry to Helen Elliott, Jan. 1, 1874, *ibid.*
70. *Ibid.*, Feb. 15, 1874.
71. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, April 12, 1874, *ibid.* See also *ibid.*, March 14, April 9, 1874.
72. Berry to L.J. and T.J. Lockhart, April 16, 1874, Lockhart Letters.
73. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, April 12, 15, May 14, 1874, Elliott Papers.
74. Quoted in Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 117.
75. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, n.d. [March, 1874?], Elliott Papers. See also *ibid.*, Feb. 26, March 7, 14, May 16, 31, 1874.
76. *Ibid.*, May 21, 1874.
77. *Ibid.*, June 4, 1874.
78. Fred E. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, [June?], 1874, *ibid.* See also Daniel M. Berry to Elliott, May 5, 1874, *ibid.*
79. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Oct. 30, 1874, *ibid.*
80. *Ibid.*, Nov. 19, 1874.
81. *Ibid.*, March 14, 1874. It appears that thirteen of the twenty-seven purchasers were from Indiana. Wood, *Pasadena, California*, 50-51.
82. Of 271 people listed in a Pasadena directory for 1883, 62 had Iowa as their state of emigration, 29 Illinois, 26 Massachusetts, and 18 Indiana. R.W.C. Farnsworth, *A Southern California Paradise, Being a Historic and Descriptive Account of Pasadena, San Gabriel, Sierra Madre, and La Canada* (Pasadena, 1883), 127.
83. *Ibid.*, 38; Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 234; Harold D. Carew, *History of Pasadena and the San Gabriel Valley, California* (Chicago, 1930), 303.
84. Elliott, History of the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, 6, Elliott Papers. See also Helen Raitt and Mary Collier Wayne, eds., *We Three Came West: A True Chronicle* (San Diego, 1974), 87.
85. A.T. Hawley, *The Present Condition, Growth, Progress and Advantages of Los Angeles City and County, Southern California* (Los Angeles, 1876), 87. See also Ludwig Salvator, *Los Angeles in the Sunny Seventies: A Flower from the Golden Land*, Marguerite Eyer Wilbur, trans. (Los Angeles, 1929 [originally published in German in 1878]), 158.
86. Los Angeles Herald, June 5, 1880, quoted in Thompson & West's *History of Los Angeles County California* (Berkeley, 1959), 130.
87. *Pasadena: Its Climate, Homes, Resources, Etc.* (Pasadena, 1888), 16. See also *Pasadena and Its Environment* (Pasadena, 1894); Farnsworth, *A Southern California Paradise*, 39, 46; Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years*, 43-53; Glenn S. Dumke, *The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California* (San Marino, California, 1944), 87-92.
88. Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land* (New York, 1946), 113-64; Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* (New York, 1985), 46, 166; Kevin Starr, *Material Dreams: Southern California Through the 1920s* (New York, 1990), 131-36, 368; Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis*, 63-84; Jon Gjerde, "The Seacoast of Iowa: Chain Migration from the Middle West to California, 1880-1930," unpublished paper. I am grateful to Professor Gjerde for sharing a copy of his paper.
89. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, June 6, 1874, Elliott Papers; Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 111-12; Mary Borgerding, "Calvin Fletcher, Jr.," *Pasadena Historical Society Newsletter* (June, 1989).
90. Berry to Donald M. Graham, Sept. 21, 1876, Margaret C. Graham Papers, Huntington Library; Los Angeles Times, December 23, 1887.
91. Pasadena Star News, August 14, 1949.

RILEY, "Field, Scott, and Divorce," pp. 250-259.

1. Sara Bard Field, Diary, 1913, Wood Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
2. Sara Bard Field, "Notes concerning the letter of Charles Erskine Scott Wood to his son Erskine, written July 22, 1927," 1938, and "Notes regarding her divorce," c. 1960; Albert Ehrhott, letter to "Dear Mr. Wood," January 3, 1913; and Albert Ehrhott, letter to "My dear Mary," May 1, 1913, all in Wood Collection.
3. Field, "Notes regarding her divorce," Wood Collection. Attorney William H. Schnitzer is described in Nelson M. Blake, *The Road to Reno: A History of Divorce*

- in the United States (New York, 1962), 153-54.
4. Field, Diary and "Notes regarding her divorce," Wood Collection.
 5. Albert Field Ehr Gott to "My dear Pops (Wood)," July 29, 1918, Albert Ehr Gott, letter to "Dear Sir (Wood)," June 25, 1918, and to "Dear Mrs. Sara Bard Field," December 6, 1918, Wood Collection.
 6. Amelie Rives, *Shadows of Flames: A Novel* (New York, 1914); and Helen Lojek, "The Southern Lady Gets a Divorce: 'Saner Feminism' in the Novels of Amelie Rives," *Southern Literary Journal* 12 (1979): 47-69; Mari Sandoz, *Old Jules* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1935); and Melody Graulich, "Every Husband's Right: Sex Roles in Mari Sandoz's *Old Jules*," *Western American Literature* 18 (April 1983): 3-20.
 7. That the new morality appeared well before the United States' entry into World War I is argued in James R. McGovern, "The American Woman's Pre-World War I Freedom in Manner and Morals," *Journal of American History* 55 (September 1968): 315-33. For further discussion of Progressivism and divorce see William L. O'Neill, *Divorce in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, 1967), especially 254-73.
 8. "The Most Difficult Problem of Modern Civilization," *Current Literature* 18 (1910): 59.
 9. William Brevda, "Love's Coming-of-Age: The Upton Sinclair-Harry Kemp Divorce Scandal," *North Dakota Quarterly* 51 (1983): 59-77. The court believed that Upton Sinclair was guilty of collusion in the adultery of his wife by condoning her affair with Kemp. Collusion between husband and wife was a legal reason to deny divorces in the state of New York. For a discussion of the effect of media presentations of divorce on public attitudes, see John D. Stevens, "Social Utility of Sensational News: Murder and Divorce in the 1920s," *Journalism Quarterly* 62 (1985): 53-58.
 10. Emma Goldman, "The Tragedy of Women's Emancipation," in Eleanor Rossi, ed., *The Feminist Papers* (New York, 1974), 506-16. See also Alix Kates Shulman, ed., *Red Emma Speaks: Selected Writings and Speeches by Emma Goldman* (New York, 1972).
 11. Charles G. Norris, *Brass: A Novel of Marriage* (New York, 1921), 105, 157-58, 194-97, 319, 421-33. See also Annegret Ogden, "Love and Marriage: Five California Couples," *The Californians* 5 (July/August 1987): 15-19, for insight into Norris's own marriage.
 12. Charles Erskine Scott Wood, letter to "My dear Son Erskine," July 22, 1927, Wood Collection. For a discussion of broadening attitudes and a decline in stigma toward divorce, see Blake, *Road to Reno*, 226-29.
 13. Alfred Cahen, *Statistical Analysis of American Divorce* (New York, 1932), 21, and Hugh Carter and Paul C. Glick, *Marriage and Divorce: A Social and Economic Study* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970), 17, 38, 57.
 14. Quoted in Blake, *Road to Reno*, 174.
 15. *Ibid.*, 175.
 16. *Haddock v. Haddock* 201 U.S. 562 (1906).
 17. *Williams, et al., v. North Carolina* 317 U.S. 287 (1942).
 18. *Lambert v. Lambert* 41 NYS 2d 840 (1943). In 1944, a specialist in constitutional law suggested that the United States Congress establish the minimum requirements to be met by a state so that its divorces would be recognized by other states. See Carl Mason Franklin, "The Dilemma of Migratory Divorces: A Partial Solution Through Federal Legislation," *Oklahoma Law Review* 1 (August 1948): 151-70.
 19. *Williams, et al., v. North Carolina* 325 U.S. 226 (1945). See also Thomas R. Powell, "And Repent at Leisure: The Unhappy Lot of Those Whom Nevada Hath Joined Together and North Carolina Hath Put Asunder," *Harvard Law Review* 58 (September 1945): 930-1017, and William G. Ruymann, "The Effect of Nevada Divorce Decrees Out of the State," *Nevada State Bar Journal* 14 (October 1949): 239-55. For an analysis of the effect of these Supreme Court rulings on an individual state (Connecticut) see John S. Gilman, "Extraterritorial Divorce," *Connecticut Bar Journal* 23 (September 1949): 298-314.
 20. *Crouch v. Crouch* 169 P. 2d 897 (1946). For an analysis of rulings in other migratory divorce cases see J.H.C. Morris, "Divisible Divorce," *Harvard Law Review* 64 (June 1951): 1287-1303. For the argument that it might be better to remain in one's home state to get a divorce, see R. Dale Vliet, "A Foreseeable End to Migratory Divorces," *Oklahoma Law Review* 10 (November 1957): 432-38.
 21. Robert M. Bozeman, "The Supreme Court and Migratory Divorce: A Re-examination of an Old Problem," *American Bar Association Journal* 37 (February 1951): 107-10, 168-71. Some experts maintained that the Capper Amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would lead to uniform divorce laws in every state was the solution to these problems. See Delbert L. McLaughlin, "The Migratory Divorce," *Kentucky Law Journal* 38 (May 1950): 600-608.
 22. Peter Nash Swisher, "Foreign Migratory Divorces: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Family Law* 21 (1982-83): 9-52.
 23. *Williams, et al., v. North Carolina* 317 U.S. 287 (1942). For an example of a recent case in which the home state accepted another state's divorce decree, but reserved jurisdiction over the couple's financial settlement, see *Squitieri v. Squitieri* 481 A.2d 585 (N.J. Super. Ch. 1984). For other discussions of full faith and credit for migratory divorces, see "Full Faith and Credit and the Out of State Divorce," *DePaul Law Review* 4 (Autumn-Winter 1954): 73-79; Henry H. Foster, Jr., "For Better or Worse? Decisions Since *Haddock v. Haddock*," *American Bar Association Journal*, 47 (October 1961): 963-67; Harriet E. Miers, "Full Faith and Credit—Procedural Limitation Bars Sister State's Collateral Attack on Jurisdiction," *Southwestern Law Journal* 22 (October 1968): 662-75; Karl M. Rodman, "Bases of Divorce Jurisdiction," *Illinois Law Review* 39 (March-April 1945): 343-66; George W. Stumberg, "The Migratory Divorce," *Washington Law Review* 33 (Winter 1958): 331-42; and P.N. Swisher, "Foreign Migratory Divorces: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Family Law* 21 (November 1982): 9-52.
 24. Howard A. Krom, "California's Divorce Law Reform: An Historical Analysis," *Pacific Law Journal* 1 (January 1970): 156-81. For practical advice to divorce-seekers, see Harry Walter Koch, *California Marriage and Divorce Laws* (San Francisco, 1969). For advice to attorneys see Charles W. Johnson, "The Family Law Act: A Guide to the Practitioner," *Pacific Law Journal* 1 (January 1970): 147-55.
 25. For changes in divorce rate see Michael Wheeler, *No-Fault Divorce* (Boston, 1974), 30-31, 155-56 and Walter D. Johnson, *Marital Dissolution and the Adoption of No-Fault Legislation* (Springfield, Illinois, 1975), 22-31. For the effect of law on divorce rate, see Dorothy M. Stetson and Gerald C. Wright, Jr., "The Effects of Laws on Divorce in the American States," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 37 (August 1975): 537-47.
 26. Grace Ganz Blumberg, "New Models of

Marriage and Divorce: Significant Legal Developments in the Last Decade," in Kingsley Davis and Amyra Grossbard-Schechtman, eds., *Contemporary Marriage: Comparative Perspectives on a Changing Institution* (New York, 1985), 349-72, and Alexandra Peers, "Differences in Divorce Laws Prompting Some People to Shop for the Best State," *Wall Street Journal*, April 14, 1988, 31.

27. Kenneth D. Sell, "Divorce Advertising—One Year After Bates," *Family Law Quarterly* 12 (Winter 1979): 275-83 and *International Herald Tribune*, August 11, 1988.
28. Field, "Notes concerning the letter of Charles Erskine Scott Wood," Wood Collection.

ICHIOKA, "Japanese Immigrant Nationalism," pp. 260-275

1. There is one general essay on Japanese Americans during the Great Depression: Roger Daniels, "Japanese America, 1930-1941: An Ethnic Community in the Great Depression," *Journal of the West* 24 (1985): 35-49. See also Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States Since 1850* (Seattle, 1988), 155-86. A few studies examine the Nisei reaction to the Sino-Japanese conflict. For example, see Forrest E. La Violette, "The American-born Japanese and the World Crisis," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 7 (1941): 517-27; Forrest E. La Violette, *Americans of Japanese Ancestry: A Study of Assimilation in the American Community* (Toronto, 1945), 143-47; and Robert W. O'Brien, "Reaction of the College Nisei to Japan and Japanese Foreign Policy From the Invasion of Manchuria to Pearl Harbor," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 36 (1945): 19-28. A more recent study, John Modell, *The Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation: The Japanese of Los Angeles, 1900-1942* (Urbana, 1977), 175-76, briefly treats the same topic. Most historical writings on the thirties concentrate on the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), the principal organization of the Nisei generation. In-house accounts of the JACL are most numerous: Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (New York, 1969), 190-219; Bill Hosokawa, *JACL: In Quest for Justice* (New York, 1982), 33-108; and Mike Masaoka, *They Call Me Moses Masaoka* (New York, 1987), 37-54. A few

studies look at the JACL critically: Roger Daniels, "The Japanese," in John Higham, ed., *Ethnic Leadership in America* (Baltimore, 1978), 36-63, and Yuji Ichioka, "A Study in Dualism: James Yoshinori Sakamoto and the Japanese American Courier, 1928-1942," *Amerasia Journal* 13 (1986-87): 49-81. Bob Kumamoto, "The Search for Spies: The American Counterintelligence and the Japanese Community, 1931-1942," *Amerasia Journal* 6 (1979): 45-75, examines the American government surveillance of the Japanese community. Jere Takahashi, "Japanese American Responses to Race Relations: The Formation of Nisei Perspectives," *Amerasia Journal* 9 (1982): 29-57, analyzes various Nisei prewar responses to racial subordination. John J. Stephan, *Hawaii Under the Rising Sun: Japan's Plans for Conquest After Pearl Harbor* (Honolulu, 1984), 23-40, is the only study that discusses prewar Issei nationalism, but it is confined to Hawaii.

2. For the early background to the Japanese Associations, see Yuji Ichioka, "Japanese Associations and the Japanese Government: A Special Relationship, 1909-1926," *Pacific Historical Review* 46 (1977): 409-37.
3. Gaimushō Jōhōbu, *Shōwa Jūninen Shitsumu Hōkoku*, December 1937, 105-23. Unless otherwise noted, all Japanese Foreign Ministry documents used in this study are deposited at the Diplomatic Records Office, Tokyo, Japan.
4. Satō Yūki to Arita Hachirō, June 15, 1939.
5. Kawashimo Nihonjinkai, *Kiroku*, v. 7, Japanese American Research Project Collection, Department of Special Collections, University Research Library, UCLA (hereafter JARP). This source is the records of the Walnut Grove Japanese Association.
6. Satō to Arita, June 15, 1939.
7. Takoma Shūhōsha, *Takoma-shi Oyobi Chihō Nihonjinshi* (Tacoma, 1941), 115-17.
8. Yūsa Keizō, *Hanboku Zenshū* (Santa Maria, 1940), 10. Hanboku was the pen name of Yūsa Keizō.
9. *Nichibei Shimbun*, San Francisco, July 9, 1938.
10. Fujioka Shirō, *Beikoku Chūō Nihonjin-kaishi* (Los Angeles, 1940), 332-33.
11. Yūsa, *Hanboku Zenshū*, 26-29.
12. *Rafu Shimpō*, Los Angeles, April 4, 1938.
13. Ota Ichirō to Ugaki Kazushige, July 10, 1938.

14. Ibid.
15. Shiozaki Kanzō to Ugaki, July 14, 1938.
16. Ota to Ugaki, August 6, 1938.
17. *Nichibei Shimbun*, August 11, 1938.
18. Ibid., August 18, 1938. For other critical comments, see *ibid.*, August 19-20, 23-25, 30, 1938; *Kashū Mainichi*, Los Angeles, August 19-20, 1938; *Ōfu Nippō*, Sacramento, August 19, 1938; and *Kakushū Jiji*, Denver, Colo., August 20, 1938.
19. *Kashū Mainichi*, August 22, 1938.
20. Ibid., editorials, July 31, August 24, 1937.
21. Ibid., editorials, August 22 to September 29, 1938. Fujii's five-week editorial tirade was titled "Ota Ryōji no Hansei wo Unagasu."
22. *Rafu Shimpō*, January 1, 1938, January 1, 1939, and January 1, 1940.
23. Yūsa, *Hanboku Zenshū*, 38-40.
24. Momii Ikken, *Hokubei Kendō Taikan* (San Francisco, 1939), 635-40.
25. *Rafu Shimpō*, January 16, 1938.
26. Gaimushō Jōhōbu, *Shōwa Jūichinen Shitsumu Hōkoku*, December 1936, 20-28. See also Tomiko Kakegawa, "The Press and Public Opinion in Japan, 1931-1941," in Dorothy Borg and Shumpei Okamoto, eds., *Pearl Harbor as History* (New York, 1973), 533-49.
27. Murayama's articles appeared in the *Shin Sekai Asahi*, San Francisco, during the months of September, October, and November, 1937.
28. Ebina's column was titled "Nozoki Megane" under his byline, Shunjūrō.
29. Suzuki Kamenosuke, *Jihen to Zaihei Dōhō* (Tokyo, 1938).
30. Uno's initial reportage was in the form of a personal narrative that he wrote after his first tour of the battlefield. It appeared in the *Shin Sekai Asahi* from December 26, 1937, to July 14, 1938. His dispatches during his second tour appeared in the *Nichibei Shimbun* from August 16, 1938, to December 28, 1938. In 1939 he also wrote a series, "Let's Face Facts," which appeared in the *Nichibei Shimbun* and *Rafu Shimpō*. It was published in the former from January 12 to June 5, 1939.
31. Yamashita Sōen, *Nichibei wo Tsunagu Mono* (Tokyo, 1938), 138.
32. Azumi Suimei, "Shinshun wo Mukaeru Kokoro," *Nippon to Amerika* 7 (January 1938): 14-16.
33. *Nichibei Shimbun*, December 10, 1937. The prize-winning essays were published by both newspapers in March and April 1938.

34. Fujii Sei purposely used his unedited "Japanesey" English in the belief that it would appeal to Nisei youngsters.
35. Shōyōsei, "Toki no Kage," *Shin Sekai Asahi*, January 27, 1938. Shōyō was the pen name of Abe Toyoji.
36. Gaimushō Jōhōbu, *Shōwa Jūninen Shitsumu Hōkoku*, December 1937, 66-77. While on his speaking tour, Shishimoto contributed to the *Nichibei Shimbun*. See Shishimoto Hachirō, "Shina Jihen ni Tsuite Beikokujin ni Uttau," *Nichibei Shimbun*, January 26 to February 5, 1938, and "Zenbei Kōen Angya wo Oe," *ibid.*, April 30 to May 5, 1938. Shishimoto also published a book about his American tour. See Shishimoto Hachirō, *Amerika Ijō Ari* (Tokyo, 1938). Issei readers were familiar with three previous books he had authored: *Kore Demo Beikoku Ka* (Tokyo, 1932), in which he recounted the key events in the anti-Japanese exclusion movement; *Nichibei wa Dōnaru Ka* (Tokyo, 1936), in which he examined future prospects in Japanese-American relations, including possible revisions in the 1924 Immigration Act; and *Nikkei Shimin wo Kataru* (Tokyo, 1936), in which he presented the problems of the Nisei generation, among whom he included his own son, Ichirō.
37. Henry Toshirō Shimanouchi, Interview, Tape no. 67, JARP.
38. His father was Shimanouchi Yoshinobu. He was one of the managing editors of the Los Angeles edition of the *Nichibei Shimbun*, published from 1922 to 1931.
39. *Kashū Mainichi*, March 19, 1938. See also *Rafu Shimpō*, March 19, 1938.
40. Miya S. Kikuchi to Robert A. Wilson, January 13, 1968, in Kikuchi Papers, JARP; Miya Sannomiya, Interview, Tape no. 83 and 84, JARP; and Interview with author, June 1, 1980.
41. Nakamura Kaju, "Shita no Angya wo Owatte," *Nichibei Shimbun*, May 19-20, 22-26, 1938. See also Nakamura Kaju, *Hokubei Shita no Seisen* (Tokyo, 1940).
42. For Matsumoto's background, see *Shin Sekai Asahi*, September 26, 1937, and Bill Hosokawa, "Disquisitions," *ibid.*, July 10, 1938.
43. Oka Shigeki, "Arabya Oyae Shusse Monogatari," *Amerika Shimbun*, February 12, 26, March 5, 1938.
44. Yamada Waka, "Taiheiyōjō no Kokumin Shisetsu Dai-Zadankai," *Shufu no Tomo* (December 1937), 264-71; "Beikoku Ware wo Ryōdo Shinryaku to Yobi," *ibid.*, (January 1938), 210-17; "Beikoku Daitōryō Fujin to Kenkai Suru Ki," *ibid.*, (February 1938), 84-89. See also *Nichibei Shimbun*, October 30-31, 1938.
45. Tengaisei, "Toki no Mondai," *Nichibei Shimbun*, October 18-19, 1938. Tengai was the pen name of Kawashima Isamu.
46. Fukuda Yoshiaki, "Kōgun Imon no Tabi Yori Kaerite," *ibid.*, February 27 to March 2, 4-14, 1939.
47. Gaimushō Jōhōbu, *Shōwa Jūichinen Shitsumu Hōkoku*, December 1936, 81-87, and *Shōwa Jūninen Shitsumu Hōkoku*, December 1937, 55-65. See also Kitayama Setsurō, *Rajio Tōkyō* (Tokyo, 1987), I, 108-34.
48. Yamashita Sōen, *Hōshuku Kigen Nisen Roppyakunen to Kaigai Dōhō* (Tokyo, 1941); Nihon Takushoku Kyōkai, *Kōki Nisen Roppyakunen Zaigai Dōhō Daihyō wo Mukaete* (Tokyo, 1941); and Takumushō, *Gaimushō, Kigen Nisen Roppyakunen Hōshuku Zaigai Dōhō Daihyōsha Kaigi Gijiroku Dai-Ikkai* (Tokyo, 1941).
49. *Rafu Shimpō*, November 10-11, 1940, and *Kashū Mainichi*, November 10-11, 1940.
50. For examples of such essays, see *Rafu Shimpōsha, Kigen Nisen Roppyakunen Hōshuku Kinen Taikan* (Los Angeles, 1940), 29-56.
51. Yūsa, *Hanboku Zenshū*, 10-20.
52. For Matsuoka's early life in the United States, see Miwa Kimitada, *Matsuoka Yōsuke: Sono Hito to Gaikō* (Tokyo, 1971), 20-37, and Matsuoka Yōsuke Denki Kankōkai, *Matsuoka Yōsuke: Sono Hito to Shōgai*, (Tokyo, 1974), 31-52.
53. On April 10, 1933, Matsuoka addressed 5000 Issei in San Francisco at a special welcoming rally. The immigrant press interpreted his appearance as the return of a native son. See *Shin Sekai*, April 12-13, 1933.
54. Kumamoto, "The Search for Spies."
55. Togo Tanaka, "History of J.A.C.L.," n.d., Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
56. Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First-Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York, 1988).
3. Interview with Robert Ariss conducted by Howard Shorr, August 24, 1988.
4. Robert Ariss, "Progress and Aims of the Los Angeles County Exhibit Series Introduced by 'Man in Our Changing World,'" November 6, 1952. (Letter in the possession of Robert Ariss, Los Angeles, California.)
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Man in Our Changing World Catalog*, Los Angeles County Museum, 1958, 7.
8. *Ibid.*, 11.
9. *Ibid.*, 19.
10. *Ibid.*, 23.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*, 31.
13. *Ibid.*, 7, 19, 21, 25.
14. Ruth Benedict, *Race: Science and Politics* (New York: Viking Press, 1964), 195-98. See Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue, Volume One, The Depression Decade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), chapter 8, for an interesting summary of the changing views of race in the 1930s.
15. *Ibid.*, 4.
16. UNESCO Statement on Race, in Ashley Montagu's *Statement of Race* (New York, 1951), 15. Three of the scholars involved in creating this statement were Claude Levi-Strauss, E. Franklin Frazier, and Ashley Montagu.
17. See Paul S. Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Lights: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985).
18. See Mauricio Mazon, *The Zoot Suit Riots: The Psychology of Symbolic Annihilation* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in California: A History of Mexican Americans in California* (San Francisco: Boyd and Fraser, 1984), 65-68, and Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps: Japanese Americans and World War Two* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971).
19. John Anson Ford, "Remarks at the Seventh School Executives Conference," UCLA, July 18, 1945, 2, John Anson Ford Manuscripts, Box 65, Henry Huntington Library, San Marino, California, hereinafter cited as JAF Manuscripts.
20. Donald R. McCoy and Richard T. Ruetton, *Quest and Response: Minority Rights and the Truman Administration* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1973), 87-91.
21. For a useful summary of segregation of Mexican Americans, Japanese Americans,

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 33. Eugene Biscailuz to William H. Schuchart, April 18, 1950, LACM, Education Department, Gehring File 20.
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 52. *Los Angeles Review* 8 (June 18, 1952), JAF Manuscripts, Box 62.
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 54. Margaret Simkins to Board of Directors, November 11, 1952, LACM, Education Department, Gehring File Number 4.
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- and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976). On Bigler's release from the military, see Henry William Bigler, *Autobiography and Journal*, Book A, 16 July 1847, Henry William Bigler Collection, Mormon File, The Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
2. Bigler, Book A, 21 July 1847.
 3. See *ibid.*, 26 August and 8 September 1847; *New Helvetia Diary: A Record of Events Kept by John A. Sutter and His Clerks at New Helvetia, California from September 9, 1845, to May 25, 1848* (San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1939), 72.
 4. *New Helvetia Diary*, 81.
 5. *Hutchings' Illustrated California Magazine* (November 1857), 201; Erwin G. Gudde, *Bigler's Chronicle of the West: The Conquest of California, Discovery of Gold, and Mormon Settlement as Reflected in Henry William Bigler's Diaries* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), 86-87; John S. Hittell, James W. Marshall, and Edwin G. Waite, *The Discovery of Gold* (Palo Alto, California: Lewis Osborn, 1968), 24. Years after Marshall's death (1885) and the ensuing publication of Bigler's diary account of the gold discovery, some were still trying to claim a portion of the glory. See for example W.W. Allen and R.B. Avery, *California Gold Book: First Nugget, Its Discovery and Discoverers and Some of the Results Proceeding Therefrom* (San Francisco and Chicago: Donohue & Henneberry, 1893), 5-7, 75, which attempts to place Peter L. Wimmer with James Marshall at the moment of the find and gives his wife, Elizabeth Jane Wimmer, a leading role as well.
 6. *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 31 December 1870. Bigler's letter was reprinted in the *Sacramento Union* of 3 January 1871.
 7. Henry William Bigler to Hubert Howe Bancroft, 12 May 1872, C-D 45: 1, Bancroft Library, The University of California, Berkeley.
 8. For a biographical sketch of Hittell, see the *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers* 11 (1925): 19-20.
 9. "Diary of H.W. Bigler in 1847 and 1848," *The Overland Monthly* 10 (July-December 1887): 233-45. Prior to the publication of Bigler's diary many had claimed 19 January as the date of the discovery. It had also been believed that Marshall found a gold nugget in the American River, but Bigler makes it quite clear that it was only some flakes of the mineral. After much effort by the Society of California Pioneers and the Native Sons of the Golden West, the California State Legislature passed a resolution in 1918 designating 24 January as the correct date. See "The Date of Marshall's Discovery of Gold," *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers* 1 (1924): 31-34.
 10. Henry W. Bigler to John S. Hittell, 7 February 1897, Notebook, Bigler Collection, Huntington Library.
 11. Henry William Bigler, *Journal* (1815-1899), 341, LDS Archives. The entire account by Bigler presented herein can be found in this journal, 341-47. Recently an edition of Azariah Smith's gold discovery journal has been published which includes a slight mention of Smith's experiences at the Golden Jubilee (see *The Gold Discovery Journal of Azariah Smith* edited by David L. Bigler (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), 147-50.
 12. John I. Spear served as secretary of the Society of California Pioneers during 1898-99. For a listing of all organization officers from 1850 through 1948, as well as a brief history of the Society, see *The Society of California Pioneers: Centennial Roster, Commemorative Edition*, edited by Walter C. Allen (San Francisco: The Society of California Pioneers, 1948).
 13. During the last twenty-three years of his life (1877-1900) Bigler served his church working in the sacred rites of Mormonism at the St. George, Utah, temple. See M. Guy Bishop, "After Sutter's Mill: The Life of Henry Bigler, 1848-1900," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Spring 1987): 134-35.
 14. George Q. Cannon (1827-1901) had been a missionary with Bigler in the Sandwich Islands during the early 1850s. In 1898 he was serving as a counsellor to Wilford Woodruff in the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Since their years together in Hawaii, Bigler and Cannon were fast friends who corresponded often. On George Q. Cannon, see Richard S. Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, *A Book of Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1982), 49-56.
 15. According to a contemporary publication, The Russ House was a palatial hotel with three hundred rooms, electric lighting, and an elegant dining room. See *San Francisco: The Metropolis of Western America* (San Francisco: Merchants Illustrating Co., 1899), 187.
 16. While it is difficult to assess whether or not Bigler's estimate of the attendance was an exaggeration, the *San Francisco Chronicle* observed the next day that "the streets through which the parade passed were black with sightseers" (25 January 1898). The parade route ran from the foot of Market Street west to Montgomery, north to Kearny, then south on Kearny to Van Ness. See the *California's Golden Jubilee, Official Souvenirs and Program*, copy at the Huntington Library. While it might be easy to assume that Henry Bigler magnified his own importance by believing that many came to see him, the *Chronicle* had featured him in its 23 January story of the Jubilee, headlining the narrative with "H.W. Bigler Tells About the Days of Sutter's Mill at Coloma."
 17. The Whipples were related to Bigler's first wife, Cynthia Jane Whipple, who had died in 1874.
 18. Bigler is referring to a Mormon practice of faith healing in which holders of the church's Melchizedek Priesthood (Elders) lay their hands upon the head of a sick person and invoke divine blessings to bring about a recovery. Concerning Bigler's health, see also *The Gold Discovery Journal of Azariah Smith*, 149.
 19. On Golden Gate Park at this time see Raymond H. Clary, *The Making of Golden Gate Park, The Early Years: 1865-1906* (San Francisco: California Living Books, 1980), 76, 98-101. Also helpful on the excursion to the Park is *The Gold Discovery Journal of Azariah Smith*, 150.
 20. For a contemporary account of the Union Iron Works, see *San Francisco: The Metropolis of Western America*, 33.
 21. John F. Pinkham was Marshal of the Society of California Pioneers in 1898 (*Centennial Roster*, 37) and T.J. Parsons was one of the leading organizers of the Golden Jubilee celebration (see the *Chronicle*, 23 January 1898).
 22. See the *Los Angeles Evening Express*, 26 November 1900; *Sacramento Union* 27 November 1900; *Deseret Evening News* (Salt Lake City), 26 November 1900.

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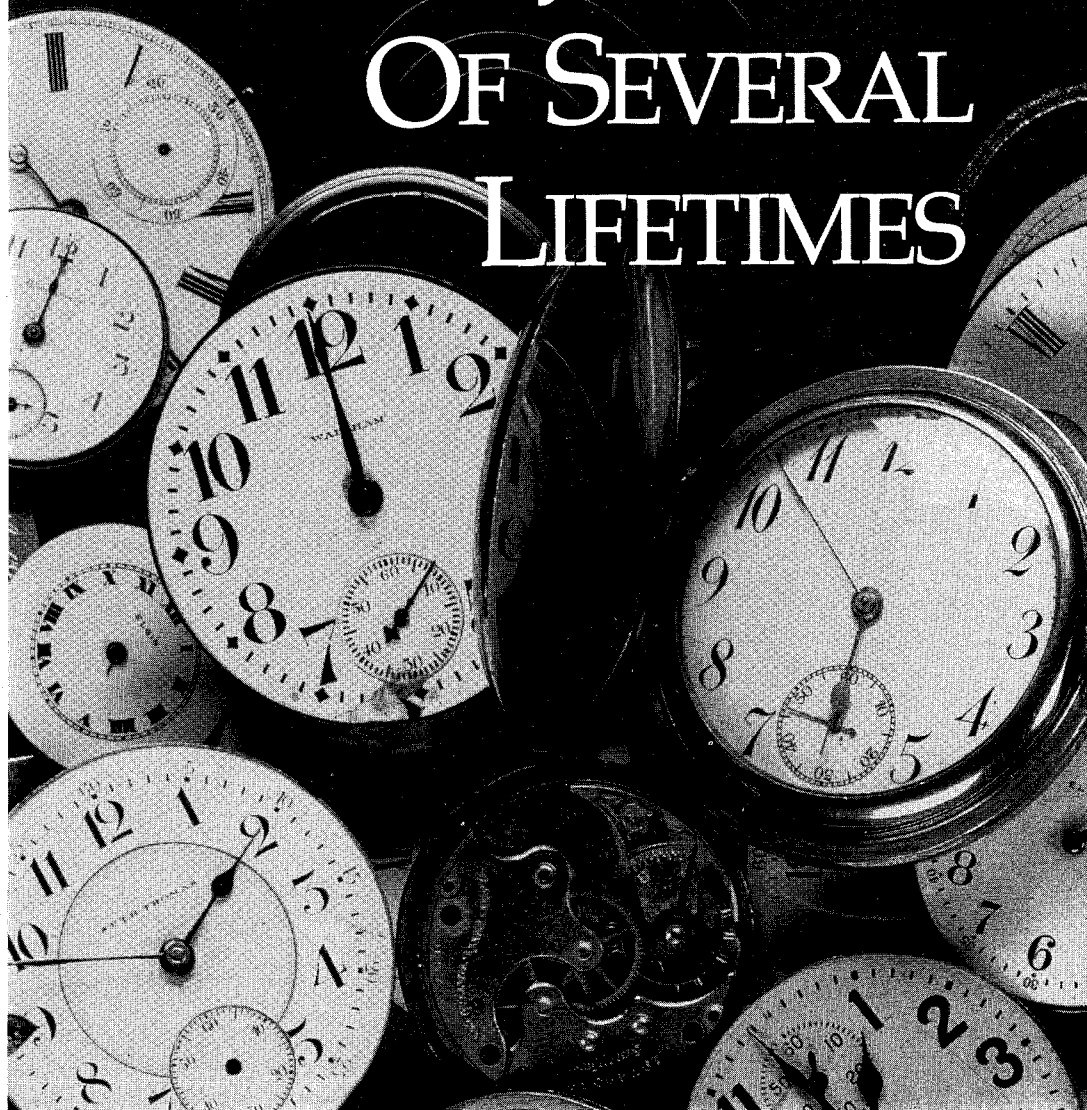
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On the Back Cover: Cover of the souvenir number of the *Pasadena Star* commemorating the 1912 Tournament of Roses parade, painting by Franz A. Bischoff. Pasadena's famous annual New Year's Day event was initiated in 1890, only a decade and a half after the city's establishment. Beginning in 1902, the celebration included a football game. Historian James Madison's account of the founding of Pasadena appears in this issue of *California History*. Courtesy Pasadena Historical Society and Pasadena Star-News.

